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# HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE MOST CELEBRATED

## VOYAGES,

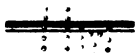
TRAVELS, AND DISCOVERIES,

FROM THE

TIME OF COLUMBUS

TO THE

PRESENT PERIOD.



*"Non apia inde tulit collectis sedulis foras."*

*Ovidi*



*Jordyce*  
BY WILLIAM MAJOR, LL.D.

VOL. XVII.

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*John Smith*

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TOUR THROUGH  
THE  
NORTHERN PARTS OF EUROPE,  
PARTICULARLY  
COPENHAGEN, STOCKHOLM,  
AND  
PETERSBURGH,

Performed in the Year 1774,

By *NATHANIEL WRAXALL, Esq.*

INTERSPERSED WITH SOME OCCASIONAL REMARKS,

---

**T**HE ingenious author of this tour is so well known, that it is unnecessary, in the present day, to give any particulars respecting him; and posterity will be at no loss to distinguish him among those who have contributed to inform or amuse the public, by his various valuable publications.

The present tour, which, in order of time, precedes that through France in our last volume, is written on the same plan, and possesses the same merit. To preserve uniformity, and at the same time to do justice to the author, we have therefore given both in the same manner.



Mr. Wraxall's object on this occasion, was to visit the three northern capitals and courts, and to describe the prominent features of each. He has not, however, been inattentive to other subjects which solicit the regard of an enlightened traveller. He has neither encumbered his narrative with details, which more properly belong to history and geography; nor omitted such a view of the scenes through which he passed, as was likely to afford entertainment or instruction.

We commence our acquaintance with him, just as he was about to land on the island of Zealand; and as far as circumstances allow, adopt his own easy and elegant mode of description.

April 19th, 1774, about sun-rise, says Mr. Wraxall, I landed at Elsinpoor: it was a pleasant day, though cold. I presented my letters of introduction to Mr. Fenwick, the English consul, who received me very politely; and as he was much engaged with a multitude of business, sent a domestic to attend me over the castle of Cronsborg.

This fortress stands at the narrowest part of the Sound, and was probably intended to command its entrance; but it appears doubtful if it would answer this purpose against a resolute enemy. It is a noble pile, built early in the last century by Christian IV. and was then often honoured with the royal residence. It is of a square form, and within is a fine quadrangle. The turrets at the corners are very superb, and in the most improved style of Gothic architecture. I was shewn several large apartments, which are still denominated the king's: there is nothing, however, in them royal, except some gilt leather chairs of equal antiquity with the castle, and several daubings of kings mounted on white steeds.

I desired to see the chambers which were occupied by her present majesty, queen Matilda, during her confinement here; but they are, I find, those in which the colonel commandant resides, who it seems had humanity and politeness enough to resign his, during her stay, as the royal apartments were not fit to be inhabited at the inclement season of the year when she was committed here; nor do they appear capable of being made comfortable at any season.

While I was surveying the court below, a poor slave \* fettered, came up, and taking off his cap, addressed me in French: I was charmed to meet with any thing with which I could converse; for the Danish sentinel who accompanied me could only transmit his ideas in his own language, which to me was perfectly unintelligible. I therefore entered into conversation with the French captive, and asked him, if he was here when the queen Matilda was confined? Ah! Monsieur, said he, I saw her every day; I had the honour to turn the spit for her majesty's dinner; she even promised to endeavour to procure me my liberty. I assure you, added he warmly, she was the most amiable princess in the world. I could not resist the force of his compliment to an English and an injured queen. I put my hand in my pocket, and gave him some half dozen stivers. Matilda was his benefactress, and I bid him thank her, not me.

About a quarter of a mile from Elsinoor, is a little hunting seat, where the king drives down frequently for a few hours in the summer. Nothing is worth seeing in or about the building;

\* All misdemeanors are punished with the Danes by servitude in chains a longer or shorter time, according to the offence.

but the prospect from the roof is beautiful beyond expression: it looks down on the town of Elfsinor and castle of Cronsborg, and commands beyond these the sound and coast of Sweden for a vast way. The town of Helsingborg in Sweden, which is exactly opposite, forms a fine object.

I peeped into the Danish church here; and was carried up to the high altar, which was entirely covered with a curtain. I expected a Corregio, or a Raphael, thus guarded. However, on drawing aside the veil, I found it was only a collection of saints, martyrs, and apostles, in wooden alto relievo, all dressed out in gold leaf, with king Christian V. in the middle of them, who seemed to stare like a man in amazement; probably, at finding himself in such company. I was disappointed, and yet could not help smiling at my mistake. On turning round, I found myself surrounded by a number of yellow-haired boys and girls, who had formed themselves into a semi-circle to look at the stranger. I was as much pleased to look at them, as they could be at me; and selecting one of the girls, whose *cheveux blondins* hung down on her neck in loose disorder, and whose whole figure was a beauty in miniature, for she appeared to be only about eleven years of age, I went up to her, and presented her with a silver. The "*detur pulchriori*" was not more legibly written by the hand of nature on Paris's apple, than it was on my bit of silver; but my goddess was too young, and too innocent, to interpret it.

Mr. Fenwick's agreeable company and entertainment, detained me at Elfsinor till four o'clock or later, and I had then twenty-two miles to go in a chaise to Copenhagen. This vehicle, which

was an indefinable somewhat, apparently begot by a coach upon a cart, and partaking very much of both kinds, was drawn by four little Danish horses; and notwithstanding it appeared to me, when I got into it, very ill calculated for speed; yet the driver whipped his cattle so frequently and so well, that I got to the capital about nine o'clock, which in this country is travelling at a great rate.

The appearance of the country between Elfinoor and the capital did not much strike me; but I must confess, I saw it through a very bad medium, as I could not keep myself warm the whole way, though wrapt up in my great coat. The day closed in a long league before I reached the metropolis, and I was indebted to the moon for her light the remainder of the road. After the officers had stopt me at the gates, enquired my name, and searched my trunks, I was set down at an inn, opposite the royal palace.

After some general visits, and private avocations, during the first week of my abode in Copenhagen, I was accompanied, on the morning of the 25th, by two gentlemen, to Count Moltcke's palace. It is very splendid; and a fine taste is shewn in the choice collection of the paintings which cover the grand drawing-room. Count Moltcke himself, who accompanied his present Danish majesty to England, lives now in a state of retirement, suited to his advanced age, and diminished influence over affairs of state. He was the favourite, and the minister of Frederic V. and so despotic was his sway during the concluding period of the late reign, when the king, from personal and mental incapacities, scarce could wield

the sceptre, that he was commonly called Konig, or King Moltke.

The round tower in Copenhagen is very singular. It was built by Christian IV. under whom the celebrated Tycho Brahé flourished, and designed for an observatory. There is not a single step in it, though very lofty. The ascent is by a spiral road, of near fourteen feet broad, from the bottom to its summit. A professor, who shewed me over it, assured me, that one of their kings, drove in his carriage up and down it; and he even produced a book, as I doubted it, to prove the veracity of his assertion. I must own it may be easily done, though probably at some risk of the driver's neck.

Every person of fashion here speaks French, and many of them English. The gentlemen of the army and navy in particular, are almost universally habituated to those languages: they were, at least several of them, with whom I fortunately fell into company, extremely disposed to treat a stranger with every mark of urbanity and politeness; and I had abundant reason to be grateful for their civilities.

The weather was still very cold, for some time after my arrival: we had hail almost every day; nor were there as yet any marks of that sweet season, which the Italians so justly denominate the *gioventu del anno*, but which is pretty much unknown to Danish poets. Indeed, I apprehend the year is more properly divided here into the summer and winter, than as with us into four seasons. A short summer succeeds to the long series of cold and darkness, which environs them from October till April; and during this period, they  
often

often experience very great heats for a few days, or sometimes weeks. Certainly man is much affected by physical causes, and one is not surprised to find the elegant arts chiefly confined to luxurious and southern climates, and faintly raising their heads amid these snowy and inhospitable regions, where the inhabitants seem in some degree to partake of the asperities of their soil, and where royal munificence, however unbounded, can only raise a few sickly and straggling plants.

So few persons visit this metropolis or kingdom from motives of curiosity, that they were quite surprised when I assured them I had no sort of business here, and was only employed in the search of knowledge. A short time, however, is adequate to the completion of every purpose of this kind at Copenhagen.

There is no face of industry or business here; and Copenhagen, though one of the finest ports in the world, can boast of little commerce. The public places are filled with officers, either in the land or sea service, and they appear to constitute three-fourths of the audience at the comedy and the opera. The number of forces are, indeed, much too large for this little kingdom, which has not been engaged in war these fifty years. They can boast, it is true, a vast extent of dominion; but of what importance are the barren and almost uninhabited mountains of Norway and Lapland, stretching to the pole; or the plains of Iceland, where the inhabitants are yet, and will probably ever remain, in the most profound barbarism? Their German dominions in Holstein are by far the most rich, and furnish a large part of the royal revenue. There needs, indeed, no stronger proof of the poverty of the kingdom, than the

scarcity of specie. I saw no gold passing, and hardly any silver. They pay every thing in paper; and if a single dollar is lost at the card or the billiard-table, it is paid in a bill.

On the 27th, I went with a party of ladies to see the palace of Rosenbourg. It was constructed, as I am assured, by our celebrated Inigo Jones, and stands in the middle of a large garden. It is small, and at present very little occupied by the king, or royal family. There is an air of antiquity in all the apartments, tapestry, and furniture, which is not displeasing, and impresses with respect. The hangings, which are not ill executed, represent the various actions by sea and land, which diversified the ancient wars between the Swedes and Danes, who seem always to have had the same national rivalry and animosity, which the French and English are distinguished for, and which it is probable, they will ever in some degree retain. At one end of this grand apartment, are three silver lions, as large as the life, which seem, by the ferocity and rudeness of their appearance, designed to characterize the age and nation in which they were cast. It is a sort of savage magnificence, which strikes more effeminate and luxurious times with wonder, to introduce such figures into a banqueting room of state.

Here are several small cabinets full of curious rarities, which the various sovereigns of Denmark have successively collected, and left to their posterity. Many of them are intrinsically valuable; others, only preserved from some event or accident connected with them. Among the first is a saddle, on which Christian IV. made a kind of triumphal entry into Copenhagen. It is covered with

with pearls, diamonds, and other precious stones ; and the spurs are of gold, enriched with jewels. The coat worn by the king, and a light helmet on the same occasion, are likewise covered with pearls. The value is immense. They preserve likewise, with great care, a handkerchief of that prince dyed with his blood, from a wound he received by a ball, which deprived him of an eye. The man who accompanied us, shewed me, with exultation in his countenance, a sword of Charles XII. of Sweden : it is such a sword as such a monarch may be supposed to have used, and would suit the meanest soldier : it, indeed, evinces his strength and vigorous frame of body, by its size and weight. The blade is at least four feet long, and both the hilt and garde are entirely composed of brass.

I could not help smiling when I entered the chamber in which Christian IV. died. There are, indeed, some figures in it which may not improperly be termed celestial and angelic ; but they are rather ill calculated for the regards of an expiring man, and would better become the cabinet of a young and healthful voluptuary. If his majesty had been a Musselman, it might have been supposed he designed them as representatives of the Houris, in whose arms he was so soon to repose his wearied virtue, and forget the toils annexed to royalty ; but it seems he died a Lutheran.

The promenade in the gardens of this palace constitute one of the chief amusements of the city, as they are always open, and on festivals or Sundays, are crowded with company. They are large, but not laid out with taste, or adorned with any productions of art ; one statue only excepted



of Hercules vanquishing the Næmean lion, which stands under a portico raised to defend it from the inclemencies of the weather. This is of Italian workmanship, and the artist has found means to display great anatomical skill and beauty in the muscles of the hero.

Next day I went to see a private collection of rarities, paintings, &c. made by a Monsieur Spengler. He is by birth a Swiss, but his urbanity and learning have made him a citizen of the world. I have always found the great and good to be of no country. His pieces of painting are, for a private individual, numerous, and yet very select. Many of them have been presented by the masters themselves, as tributes of friendship or admiration, made to his genius or his heart. They are, indeed, mostly the production of German, Dutch, and Flemish artists. He is an excellent mechanist and anatomist, and has some pieces of workmanship in both those branches of science, cut by himself in ivory, which are reckoned chefs d'œuvres. I was not surprised to hear him call Dr. Fothergill his intimate friend; or to find that he kept up the closest correspondence with the celebrated Linnæus. In justice to Denmark, I ought to add, that his late majesty made this gentleman keeper of the royal Museum, and that he enjoys a very easy competence. I was charmed to find that his elevated understanding, and uncommon talents, had not allied him to poverty, which is too commonly the case in every country.

I afterwards visited all the churches here, whether German, French, or Danish; but it is not in Lutheran places of devotion one must search for the productions of art and elegance: Madonnas  
and

and Magdalens are confined to catholic walls. There is one church here, indeed, where they have placed six statues of plaister before the high altar. As they have armed two of these with monstrous gilt swords, as big as Charles XII's, and a third is employed in blowing a trumpet, I must own I took them, at first sight, for a kind of guard drawn up to defend the holy place; but on a nearer approach, I found that they had christened them all, and placed their names, severally and respectively, at their feet, because there was nothing appropriate to distinguish them. To four of them they have applied the Jewish appellations of the angels, which occur in scripture, Gabriel, Uriel, Raphael, and Michael; but unhappily, when they had got so far, having yet two nameless figures, and no more angelic titles, they seem to have been at a sad loss; under one of them, therefore, they have put the word Cherub; and to the other, is affixed Jeremiell. Who the latter is, we leave those who are fond of such researches to discover.

The police of Copenhagen is exceedingly good, and one may walk through the whole city at midnight with the most perfect safety. No robberies, no assassinations are heard of. They wear no cloaks, nor conceal any stillettoes under their habits, as in the southern kingdoms of Europe. Indeed, it is usually almost as quiet here at eleven o'clock at night, as in a country village; and scarce a coach rattles through the streets.

I do not think this capital can be above the fourth part of the size of London, possibly not so much. It is fortified towards the land by a fossé, always full of water. The streets are commonly of a good breadth, and the houses very neat and handsome.

handsome. There is one very beautiful place here, which approaches nearer to a circus than a square; each side or division of which is only one palace, and in the centre is an equestrian statue, in bronze, of the late King Frederic V. I must own I was much more pleased with this, than with the Place de Victoires at Paris, and think it has a much better effect; but single beauties always appear to greater advantage than when numbers invite attention.

I had not had the honour of being presented to the sovereign here, as is customary with strangers from the other kingdoms of Europe. It was sufficient that I was an Englishman, not to wish it\*; and, indeed, with so jealous an eye are we regarded, at present, in this capital, that so little an individual as myself, so humble and unknown a traveller as I am, was not only publicly talked of, but even suspected as a spy, because I came from England, and had no avowed motive, except curiosity and knowledge. I therefore never went to the levee, which is every Friday; but attended the drawing-room, and mingled unnoticed among the crowd. I was there one night, when his majesty, the queen dowager, and Prince Frederic, the king's brother, were present. To give a picture of the court, as it now exists, I must recur to the time of the late celebrated, and unhappy favourite, Count Struensee. I have made it my endeavour, to gain the most authentic and unprejudiced intelligence respecting him, and the late extraordinary revolution, which expelled a queen from her throne

\* This was written only two years after the cruel imprisonment of queen Carolina Matilda.

and kingdom, and brought the ministers to the scaffold.

Struensee, it appears, had not any noble blood in his veins, nor consequently any hereditary and prescriptive title to the immediate guidance of affairs of state. Fortune, and a train of peculiar circumstances, coinciding with his own talents and address, seem to have drawn him from his native mediocrity of condition, and placed him in an elevated rank. He originally practised physic at Altena on the Elbe, and afterwards attended the present king of Denmark on his travels into England, in quality of physician. On his return, he advanced by rapid strides in the royal favour, and seems to have eminently possessed the powers of pleasing; since he became equally the favourite of both the king and queen. He was invested with the order of St. Matilda, instituted in honour of her majesty, created a count, and possessed unlimited ministerial power: his conduct, in this sudden and uncommon eminence, marks a bold and daring mind; perhaps I might add, an expanded and patriotic heart. Unawed by the precarious tenure of courtly greatness, and more peculiarly of his own, he began a general reform. The state felt him through all her members: the finances, chancery, army, navy, nobles, peasants—all were sensible of his influence. He not only dictated, but penned his replies to every important question or dispatch; and a petition, or a scheme of public import and utility, rarely waited two hours for an answer.

The civil judicature of this capital was then vested in thirty magistrates. Struensee sent a message to this tribunal, demanding to know the annual salary or pension annexed to each member;

ber: rather alarmed at this enquiry, they sent an answer, in which they diminished their emoluments two thirds. The count then informed them, that his majesty had no further occasion for their services, but in his royal munificence and liberality, was graciously pleased to continue to them the third part of their avowed incomes, as a proof of his satisfaction with their conduct. He at the same time constituted another court, composed only of six persons of approved integrity, to whom the same power was delegated. He proceeded to purge the chancery, and other bodies of the law. Then entering on the military department, he, at one stroke, broke all the horse guards, and afterwards the regiment of Norwegian foot guards, the finest corps in the service, and who were not disbanded without a short but very dangerous sedition.

Still proceeding in this salutary, but most critical and perilous achievement, he at last began to attempt a diminution of the power of the nobles, and to set the farmers and peasants at perfect liberty. It is not then to be wondered at, that he fell a victim to such measures; and that all parties joined in his destruction. These were his real crimes; and not that he was too acceptable to the queen, which only formed a plausible pretext. It was the minister, and not the man, who had become obnoxious. I do not pretend, in the latter capacity, either to excuse or condemn him; but as a politician, I rank him with the Clarendons and the Mores, whom tyranny, or public baseness, and want of virtue, have brought, in almost every age, to an untimely and ignominious end; but to whose memory impartial posterity have done ample justice. Yet I  
must

must avow, that though I cannot think Struensee made a bad use, he certainly made a violent and imprudent one, of his extensive power.

He seems, if we may judge from his actions, to have been in some measure intoxicated with royal favour, and such accumulated honours; and not to have adverted sufficiently to the examples which history furnishes of Wolseys in former days, and of Choiseuls in modern times, who most strikingly evince the slippery foundation of political grandeur. When he was even pressed, only a short time before his seizure, to withdraw from court, and to pass the Belts, with the most ample security for an annual remittance of forty, fifty, or a hundred thousand dollars, an unhappy fascination detained him, in defiance of every warning, and reserved him for the prison and the block. The queen dowager and prince Frederic were only the feeble instruments to produce this catastrophe, as being by their rank immediately about the person of the sovereign; though common report has talked loudly of the former's intrigue, and attributed it to her imaginary abilities. The only mark of capacity or address they exhibited, was in preserving a secrecy, which deluded Struensee and the queen Matilda, till the time of their being arrested.

I was assured that, on the last levee day preceeding this event, the count was habited with uncommon magnificence, and never received greater homage or court servility from the crowd, than when on the verge of ruin. Such is the friendship of public men! On the night fixed for his seizure, there was a *bal paré* in the palace; the queen, after dancing, as usual, one country dance with the king, gave her hand to

Struensee during the rest of the evening. She retired about two in the morning, and was followed by him and Count Brandt. The crisis was now come. The queen dowager, and her son Prince Frederic, hastened to the king's private chamber, where he was already in bed. They kneeled down beside it, and implored him with tears and expostulations to save himself and Denmark from impending destruction, by arresting those whom they called the authors of it. It is said, the king was not easily prevailed on to sign the order, but did it with reluctance and hesitation. At length, their entreaties overcame his resolution, and he affixed his sign manual to the paper. Colonel Koller Banner instantly repaired to Struensee's apartment, which, as well as Brandt's, was in the palace; they were both seized, nearly at the same instant, and, as all defence was vain, hurried away immediately to the citadel.

It was five o'clock in the morning when the Count de Rantzau came to the door of her majesty's antichamber, and knocked for admittance. One of the women about the queen's person, was ordered to wake her, and give her information, that she was arrested. They then put her into one of the king's coaches, drove her down to Elsinoor, and shut her up in the castle of Cronsborg.

The actors in this tragedy were not insensible of their danger. As they dreaded an insurrection in Copenhagen, every military precaution was taken to prevent it; the most infamous and silly reports were circulated among the populace, to render the state prisoners odious: that they had put poison in the king's coffee, to destroy him;

that they intended to declare him incapable of governing; to send the dowager, Queen Juliana, out of the kingdom, as well as her son Prince Frederic; and to proclaim Matilda regent. To confirm these extraordinary and contradictory reports, the king himself and his brother appeared in a state coach, and paraded through the streets of the city, to shew himself unhurt, and as if escaped from the most horrid conspiracy.

During these transactions, Struensee and Brandt were detained in the most rigorous imprisonment. They loaded the former with very heavy chains about his arms and legs, and he was, at the same time, fixed to the wall by an iron bar. The room of his confinement was not above ten or twelve feet square, with a little bed in it, and a miserable iron stove. Yet here, in this abode of misery, did he, though chained, complete, with a pencil, an animated account of his life and conduct, as a minister. A tribunal was appointed for the trial of the queen, and the two counts, and a council assigned for each, to preserve an appearance of justice and equity. The result, and the winding up of the whole, on the 28th of April, 1772, are well known, and it is distressing to enter into particulars.

The equally unfortunate Count Brandt rose chiefly under Struensee's auspices, though he was originally of an honourable descent. During a residence which the court made at the royal palace of Herschholm, it happened that his majesty quarrelled with Brandt, and, what was singular enough, challenged him. This the count declined. When they met soon after, the king repeated his defiance; called him coward; and Brandt, still behaving with temper, as became a



subject, he thrust his hand into his mouth, seized his tongue, and had very nearly choked him. In this situation can it be wondered at, that he should bite the king's finger, or strike him, or both? Self-preservation must necessarily supersede every other feeling at such a moment, and plead his pardon. By Struensee's mediation the quarrel was immediately made up; and the king promised never more to remember or resent the circumstance of his striking him. Yet was this blow, given to preserve himself from imminent destruction, and from the fury of an enraged man, made the pretence for his condemnation. They said, he had lifted his hand against the king's sacred person, which was death by the laws of Denmark. His lawyer, on his trial, made an excellent defence for him, and very forcibly remarked the essential difference between assaulting the sovereign, and only defending himself from a private attack. 'One of our former monarchs,' said he, 'Christian V. was used frequently to unbend himself among his nobles: on these occasions, it was his custom to say, "The king is not at home." All the courtiers then behaved with the utmost freedom and familiarity, unrestrained by the royal presence. When he chose to resume his kingly dignity, he said, "The king is again at home." But what, added he, must we do now, when the king is never at home?'—This seems more like the speech of an Englishman than a Dane, and breathes a manly and unfettered spirit, which, in the most despotic countries, will sometimes appear.

The skulls and bones of these unhappy men are yet exposed on wheels, about a mile and a half

out of town. I viewed them with mingled commiseration and horror. They hold up an awful and affecting lesson to future statesmen and favourites. They teach moderation in prosperity, by the mournful reverse of fortune they display.

It is said Struensee resigned himself to his own sentence without murmuring, or attempting to deprecate the blow; but that he expressed the utmost pity and abhorrence, at the flagrant injustice committed in sentencing Count Brandt to the same death. They have portraits of Struensee in all the shops, with this punning motto round them: *Mala multa Struens-see ipsum perditit*. Yet, in defiance of all the calumnies of a triumphant party, the terrors of a despotic government, and the natural reserve among the people, there are, even here, who dare to speak, though ambiguously, their genuine sentiments on public affairs.

The king, in the opinion of all unprejudiced persons, has certainly suffered much in his intellectual capacity, and they make very little scruple, in general, to own it. He can play, indeed, at cards; he can dance, or go to an opera; but he is, doubtless, in a state of imbecility, which disqualifies him for the conducting or superintending affairs of national import, and public consequence. There is a vacuity in his majesty's aspect, which is strongly marked. The queen dowager and Prince Frederic live in the palace with him, and accompany him, like his shadow, wherever he moves. The prince has received no other mark of bounty from nature or fortune, than royal birth. He is very much deformed; and this personal imperfection has gained him the appellation of Richard III. among those who

do not love the court, though it doubtless originated among the English.

They have a Danish comedy here twice a week, and an Italian opera in the king's own opera-house in the palace every Saturday; but I neither admire their singers nor dancers.

I did not see above three or four very handsome or very elegant women in Copenhagen. Perhaps I may be too premature in my determination, but I do not think them, in general, to be compared, for loveliness, with our own women. I have heard this court likewise decried as very profligate, and very licentious. It may be so, for any thing I can say to the contrary; but there are no symptoms of it visible.

M. Splengler accompanied me through the royal cabinet, or museum. This collection is very large, and extends through all the vegetable and mineral worlds, as well as the finer arts. It is more indebted to Frederic IV. than to any other sovereign. Every nation has produced her heroes and her patriots, on whom history delights to dwell. Some countries are, however, more fruitful in great and sublime spirits, than others. In Denmark, they have had very few to grace their annals. Sweden can boast her two Gustavuses, the first and second; nor are her Christina, or her Charles, unknown to fame. In what country is not the name of Peter celebrated, the greatest legislature that modern times have seen? But here the sun of genius has never yet blazed from a throne, and shed a temporary lustre on the surrounding darkness. There are, however, two favourite monarchs of Danish story, whose memories are revered, and whose golden days are frequently recalled with a sigh. The first of these

these was Christian IV. who was the opponent and competitor of Gustavus Adolphus, though with far inferior fame. The last was Frederic IV. This prince loved the arts, and attached from that principle to the land where they seemed to hover and reside, he made two visits to Italy. As Christian the IV. is usually depicted on canvases or tapestry clad in armour, and holding a javelin in his hand; so this latter sovereign appears the patron of science, and the friend of the elegant and softer occupations. During a carnival at Venice, he resided in that city, and in one evening is said to have won, at the card-table, a bank worth two hundred thousand zechins, or nearly one hundred thousand pounds sterling, which he immediately presented to a noble Venetian lady, in whose house this happened, and whose whole fortunes were involved in this prodigious game of chance. This was an act of munificence, or rather of justice, worthy of a sovereign.

They now keep, among the greatest and most valuable curiosities, the chair in which Tycho Brahé was used to sit, when he made his astronomical observations at Uranibourg. The wood which composes it is held in reverence, and preserved with the utmost care, as having belonged to so great a man. Yet the astronomer himself was driven from his native country by faction and malevolence; and died at Prague, in the court, and under the protection, of the emperor Rodolphus, who sheltered this illustrious fugitive, and afforded him an asylum. Thus it generally happens, that living merit is neglected or persecuted; while posterity, more just, consecrates its memory to fame.

The collection of paintings in the royal museum is very large; and though it consists mostly of Flemish and German pieces, yet there are some few beautiful originals of Guido, Titian, Angelo, and even of Raphael's hand. Our own Charles I. by Vandyke, and his sons, by Kneller, hold a distinguished place. They were, by the mother's side, of Danish extraction. Their own painters or sculptors scarcely appear in this numerous assemblage. There are, however, some paintings, chiefly historical, by Charles Dreman-der, a Dane, not ill executed. Among these is one of the famous Margaret de Waldemar, who united, in her person, the three kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, receiving the homage of this latter from its sovereign.

The palace itself, of which the whole museum constitutes only a very small part, was built by the present king's grandfather, Christian VI. and, though it cost six millions of dollars, yet the inscription over the grand portal declares that the sovereign erected it from the ordinary revenues of the crown, without laying any additional taxes or imposts on his subjects. This was, however, owing to the wonderful and laudable parsimony of his father, Frederic IV. who, notwithstanding the almost continual hostilities he was engaged in, with Charles XII. left his dominions in the most flourishing state, and an immense treasure, at his death. It is of a prodigious size; and, if I were inclined to find fault with it, I should say, it is too splendid and too magnificent for a king of Denmark; on the same principle, as foreigners constantly remark, that the palaces in England are far beneath the dignity and greatness of the British empire. One of the state apartments

is very remarkable, and may be properly called, the chamber of kings, as it contains no other paintings except the portraits of all the present reigning monarchs throughout Europe. These have been presented by the respective sovereigns. I could not but smile at the different characters and dresses in which they have been pleased to be drawn. The king of Prussia, who had spent his life amid camps and armies, and has oftener slept in an uniform than a coat of velvet, has modestly dressed himself in a plain blue suit of clothes, and the vizor peeps out at one corner of the piece, just to mark the warrior; while Charles III. of Spain, who has scarce ever heard the clash of arms, has arrayed himself in complete armour, and frowns dreadful from the canvass. This ridiculous ostentation of war only excites laughter, and stands finely opposed to the modest portrait of a prince, who might, with so much propriety, have invested himself with military trophies.

On the 4th of May, I made an excursion in a party to Malmoe in Sweden. The passage is, at least, as broad as from Dover to Calais. We were, however, favoured by the wind, and got back again to Copenhagen about ten o'clock at night. It is a poor town, though fortified; and we procured, with difficulty, a miserable dinner at a wretched inn. We were very ill repaid, indeed, at Malmoe, for our trouble in visiting it. Except the body of a monk, who was immured in the wall of the great church, I saw not any thing curious. Tradition says, this wretch lived nine days, as they fed him through a hole with eggs; and that this punishment was inflicted for adultery, which was formerly capital in this country.

Finding little more to please or entertain me in Copenhagen, I set out on the 8th of May, with a large party, to view the palaces. Our first stage was to Roskild, which is four Danish, or sixteen English miles from Copenhagen. It is one of the most ancient places on the island, and is said to have been a considerable city, several centuries before the present metropolis was founded. This capital, indeed, owed its commencement, like Venice, to a few fishermen, who erected their huts on the sea-shore, and finding it convenient for traffic, gave it the name it now bears, of Koibenhaven, or Merchant's Haven. The only remaining mark of the royal residence, which Roskild yet retains, is, that of being the place of sepulture of the kings. From the most remote antiquity, the sovereigns of Denmark have been interred in the cathedral. The vaults, under the church, are very numerous, and the ground is covered with the coffins of kings, queens, and princes, who, though born in different centuries, are all now collected together, and placed in the same gloomy chambers, amidst silence and darkness. The splendor which accompanies those of exalted birth, even after death, is, in many of these, almost vanished, and time has destroyed the gold and velvet, which originally marked their dignity.

I enquired for the celebrated Margaret de Waldemar, to whom history has given the epithet of the Semiramis of the North, and who united, under her reign, all the kingdoms beneath the polar sky. The person who accompanied us over the vaults, assured me her body was interred here, and, by the light of his candle, enabled me just to perceive an iron door, all access to which was blocked up by intervening coffins of monarchs,

narchs, her successors. "Within that door," said he, "is another, vault, where rests the queen you enquire for. You can see no more." In such a situation, it was impossible not to be impressed with that sublime and awful melancholy, which scenes of this nature are peculiarly calculated to produce. The chilly and unwholesome dampness of the air, the mournful light produced by a solitary taper, intruding on these abodes of darkness; the numerous dead arranged side by side, and marked with crowns to denote their departed grandeur; all these must have a most forcible effect on the mind, and will tinge with a temporary solemnity the gayest temper.

In one of the chapels are two of the most magnificent monuments in Europe: they were made in Italy, by order of Christian IV. and are erected to the memory of his father and grandfather, Frederic II. and Christian III. Round the tomb of Frederic II. all the events and warlike achievements, which marked his reign, are exquisitely designed in bass relief. I could not but remark, that Christian IV. who erected these monuments, and who is the idol of Danish story, has yet received no such honorary tribute from his posterity. The most deserving are often the least honoured in this respect; but the fame of desert is not built of such perishable materials as marble.

Besides those two last mentioned, there are four others lately brought here, of two later Danish sovereigns and their queens. These are executed by the celebrated Wiedwelt, a native of this country, who is now alive,

We drove twenty miles from Roskild, to see a foundery for cannon, begun by the late king, and called



called from his name, Frederic's Work. This the Danes expatiate on as the most extensive and astonishing undertaking in Europe, both as to utility and curiosity. They may, indeed, make very good cannon, and other warlike stores, the work being exceeding large; but it is certainly no such extraordinary production, either of genius or magnificence, as they esteem it; or at least it did not impress me with any sensations of wonder or pleasure.

The palace of Fredericshourg is only about five or six miles distant from this foundery. It is a very large chateau, moated round with a treple ditch, and calculated, like all the ancient residences of princes, for defence. It was built by Christian IV. and, according to the architecture of the times, partakes of the Greek and Gothic styles. In the front of the grand quadrangle, appear Tuscan and Doric pillars, and on the summit of the building, are spires and turrets. It is at present very little visited by the kings, and his present majesty even altered the ceremony of the coronation, which was always performed at this palace by his predecessors, having been crowned in Copenhagen. Some of the rooms are very splendid, though furnished in the antique taste. The knights hall is of a great length. The tapestry represents the wars of Denmark, and the ceiling is one of the most minute and laboured performances of sculpture that can be conceived. The chimney-piece was once entirely covered with plates of silver, richly ornamented; but the Swedes, who have often landed on this island, and even besieged the capital, tore them all away, and rifled the palace, notwithstanding its treple moat and formidable appearance.

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It is a beautiful ride through the royal woods from hence to Fredinborg. This was the favourite residence of the late king Frederic, who spent the greater part of his time here, during the latter years of his life, in a kind of seclusion from his court and people. The Danes universally agree in saying, that he was generous, compassionate, mild, and virtuous: his heart was full of humanity, and he was infinitely beloved by his subjects, till he unhappily contracted a fatal passion for wine, which incapacitated him for every public concern; and brought him to an untimely death. The palace is small; but the gardens are laid out very prettily, and are adorned with a number of statues, done by Wiedwelt, the Rubiliac of Denmark. The surrounding country too is very fine, and there is an air of sequestration and retirement spread through the whole, which highly pleases.

We next proceeded to Herschholm, the most magnificent and spacious of any of the palaces. It was built by Christian VI. and was the favourite residence of the court, during the queen Matilda's stay. The man who shewed us the apartments, did not omit to mention the names of Struensee and Brahdts, or to shew me the chamber in which the unhappy accident happened, already explained, when the latter struck the king, and paid for it with his life.

However dreary and comfortless the island of Zealand may be in the winter, when covered with snow, it exhibits, at this season of the year, a most pleasing aspect. It is flat every where, but covered with corn or woods, and cultivated with great industry. I more than once thought myself on some of the Wiltshire or Hampshire

Downs, by the great number of tumuli scattered about. These exactly resemble, in size and appearance, those in England, and are probably ancient Saxon sepulchres. I enquired if any of them had been opened by curious antiquarians, as many of ours have been ; but they seemed surprised at the question. I observed, likewise, several collections of stones in a circular form, some of which are very large, and reminded me of Stonehenge, though they are on a smaller scale. About these likewise they are totally ignorant ; and it would only be lost time to attempt to gain any account of their origin, or construction, from the people who live near them. They have neither an antiquarian taste, nor are there antiquaries among them.

I cannot help mentioning a lively description, which a gentleman, remarkable for his wit, gave me of Zealand, soon after my arrival. I dined with him, and among other questions natural to a stranger, I asked him if the country was pleasant and agreeable. His answer was short, but very full. " Sir, on this isle there is neither mountain nor river ; but as for lakes, thank God ! we have enough of them."

The weather was now become very warm, and I promised myself an agreeable journey through Sweden, in defiance of bad inns, and every inconvenience I was threatened with. The season was, indeed, uncommonly favourable. Only three years ago, they were yet buried in all the horrors of winter at this very time, accompanied with a dearth of provisions, which approached to a famine. Carriages and horses loaded with wood came over from Sweden on the ice, and returned again, at the end of April. It was the 6th of May,

May, when four English vessels broke up the ice, and entered the port of Copenhagen, which could hardly have suffered greater hardships from the closest siege by an enemy, than it had done by the inclemency of the weather. It was midsummer before the leaves appeared on the trees, or the season changed the aspect of nature. I must own, the relation of these facts reconciles one to England with all its fogs and changes of climate, which, compared with these inhospitable countries, appear as trifling inconveniences.

I was much pressed, by my friends here, to protract my departure for Stockholm a few days longer. Had I obeyed the impulse of my heart, I should most readily have complied with their request; but as I intended to visit Petersburg and Moscow during the summer, besides the last-mentioned capital, I was proof against any solicitations, however tempting. Though I had scarcely been a month at Copenhagen, I had very completely viewed every object worth a traveller's attention; and, therefore, could have no inducement to prolong my stay.

I, therefore, left that metropolis on Saturday morning, May 14th, and reached Elsinoor at noon. I could not help stopping on the road for a few minutes at the village of Nivad, to see the celebrated spot on which Charles XII. of Sweden landed. The Danes opposed his descent, and erected a battery of twelve cannon for that purpose; but the young warrior, who was, at that time, only sixteen years old, drove them from their entrenchments, and was himself among the first of those who leaped from the boats on shore. A celebrated author remarks, that great events, or actions, stamp a veneration on the spot where

they were performed, and impress the spectator with lively sentiments of pleasure many ages after. I had occasion to remember this observation, while I stood upon the battery, the embrasures of which are now almost grown up to a level with the rest of the turf, and which will scarce exhibit, in another century, any traces of this engagement. It was a beautiful day, and I could not resist the united attractions of the English consul's lady and Elsinoor, the former of which requested, and the latter demanded, my stay for a day. This lady is a native of Archangel, in Russia, and is an eminent proof that those frozen countries can produce minds as highly tempered, and as exquisitely fashioned, as the most happy and genial soils.

I crossed the celebrated passage of the Sound next morning, though it blew very fresh. We were over in little more than half an hour. At Helsingborg, where I entered the Swedish dominions, I had the pleasure of viewing the beautiful landscape reversed, which I had seen the preceding evening from the island of Zealand. Which of the two is actually the most charming, I leave connoisseurs to determine. I must confess, I liked the view from Elsinoor infinitely beyond the other. Perhaps, private feelings gave rise to my predilection.

I drove twenty miles in the afternoon, and was then obliged, by the approach of night, and the want of horses, to stop at a miserable little inn, or rather cabin, where I could procure nothing besides milk. I lay down five hours in my clothes, and got again into the carriage at three o'clock next morning. Had I understood properly the manner of travelling in this country, which is to  
send.

send a peasant forward from every post-house, to procure horses in readiness, I should have doubtless made a more rapid progress; but as I neglected this necessary step, I was obliged to wait at every stage an hour or two, while the horses were brought from the neighbouring villages.

The following night was spent in a more desolate and dirty hovel than the first, where I wrapped myself in my great coat, and slept upon a table. In the morning, when I continued my journey, the whole aspect of nature was changed. The snow lay upon the ground two feet deep, and the winter seemed to have renewed its empire over these inhospitable plains, even during the smiling month of May. In the hope of reaching Jonkioping at night, I set out, however, in defiance of the inclemency of the weather, which, from having been very warm, was become in a few hours as cold and piercing as our Decembers. The drivers seemed totally unaffected by this sudden alteration; and the peasants, both men and women, were all barefooted as before. The snow, however, conspiring with the want of horses, prevented me from reaching the town, and I lodged at a house, which, for horror of situation, I never remembered paralleled. It is quite detached from any village or hamlet, and the spot on which it stands is a bare rock, destitute of any covering or earth, and surrounded on every side by the deepest woods it is possible to conceive, and in which I had not seen one human creature for two leagues before my arrival. Yet, in this situation, fatigue made me sleep very sound, and my servant by me, till three in the morning, when, with the return of day, I entered my carriage, and bid adieu to this most melan-

choly and wretched habitation, which, however, had security to recommend it: for here no assassin or robber was to be dreaded.

I got to Jonkioping about ten o'clock in the morning of the 18th, and gladly enjoyed a few hours of relaxation after so many unpleasing occurrences. It is difficult to give a picture of the country through which I passed from Helsingborg. The first twenty miles exhibited some few marks of cultivation and agriculture; and though there was not one collection of huts or houses, which could be denominated a village; yet, scattered cottages, and a little ploughed land, amid an immense waste, informed the passenger that it was not totally unoccupied or unpeopled. But as I advanced farther into the province of Scania, and afterwards into that of Smaland, even these faint traces of human residence vanished. Groves of fir or aspen covered the country; and in the course of sixty miles I saw not a hundred people, and not ten hamlets: villages, there are not any. In some pretty long stages I did not discern the countenance of man.

In many places, the firs on either side the road formed avenues, as noble as those which are often planted in the entrance to palaces, or noblemen's seats; and through the whole was spread a kind of rude and gloomy magnificence, which, superadded to their silence and loneliness, very strongly affected the mind. Even the birds seem to have abandoned these dreary forests, and I heard or saw none, except woodpeckers, and now and then the cuckoo. I enquired if they did not afford refuge to wolves or bears, as these animals are commonly found in those countries and places which want population; but the peasants assured

me, the former were only in small numbers, and rarely seen : and as to bears, the race was extinct.

This deplorable want of inhabitants is one of the many evils which Charles XII. entailed on his unhappy kingdom. Unchecked by the defeat of Pultowa, by the loss of his richest provinces and bravest subjects, his rage for war, heightened by personal animosity to the king of Denmark, induced him still to exert new efforts, and make fresh levies of soldiery from his bleeding and exhausted country ; and though more than half a century has now elapsed since his death, Sweden has by no means recovered herself, or re-peopled her uninhabited plains.

The peasants are civil and humble to obsequiousness, grateful for the smallest trifle, and infinitely less uncivilized and barbarous, than one would be tempted to suppose from the appearance of every thing around them\*. I saw a number of very pretty forms among the women, who used to crowd round the carriage at every post-house, either out of curiosity, or to obtain charity.

Had I not taken the precaution to carry wine and provisions with me in the chaise, I must have been almost starved in three or four days journey through these miserable provinces, where the peasants are strangers to every kind of aliment, except bread, and salt pork or fish. It is, indeed, a question whether the former of these deserves the name of bread, as it is a compound of rye and oats ; among which they mingle, in times of dearth and famine, a kind of flour made of the

\* Refinement and civilization do not much depend on climate : they are influenced more by religion and laws, by example, and encouragement.



internal bark of trees rasped: it is of a colour approaching to black, and of a taste to which only hunger can give a relish. As Charles XII. however, said to one of his soldiers who complained, "It is not good, but it may be eaten."

My servant, who was a German, and had wandered over half Europe in various services, was quite tired with four days of such miserable accommodation, and exclaimed in a rapture, at the sight of Jonkioping, that it was *le paradis terrestre*. It is, indeed, in itself a very neat country town, and most delightfully situated on the lake Veter. The lake itself, which is near a hundred English miles in length, extends far beyond the view to the north, and resembles rather the sea than a piece of inland water.

I left Jonkioping next morning, after the enjoyment of all that luxury of repose, which can only be purchased by preceding fatigue. My journey from thence, for near thirty miles, lay along the shore of the lake Veter, under the high mountains which bound it on the east side. I then entered the province of East Gothland, and reached the city of Lindkoping, which is the capital, the same night. I was charmed to find myself once more in a civilized and inhabited country; every thing had assumed a cheerful appearance; and the groves of fir were succeeded by a cultivated and liberal soil, covered with grain, and exhibiting marks of industry.

Lindkoping is an inland place, very ancient, and has nothing to detain a traveller, except its cathedral. It was, however, so crowded at the time I was there with the Swedish noblemen and their train, who were sent to conduct the Princess of Holstein-Eutin, designed for Prince Charles,

his

His Swedish majesty's brother, that I had no little difficulty to procure a bed.

I lay at Norkoping the following night, which is only twenty miles distant from the former. It is a very large town, and remarkable for its manufactures of firearms, and every sort of military weapons. I went over the whole work, accompanied by the landlord of the inn, who spoke Italian, and must confess, that it appeared to me highly to deserve attention.

About four miles north of the town, I passed the high mountains which separate East Gothland from the province of Sudermania. Here the country again becomes rocky, barren, and woody. A scanty soil, where industry, however indefatigable, can only produce a sickly harvest, covers the bosom of a vast expanse of rock, which, in many places, appears bare and hideous, or only gives birth to a number of firs, which run up to a vast height on its naked surface, and seem kindly lent by nature to conceal, in some degree, her penurious and inhospitable aspect.

I slept at a little village about twenty-seven miles from Stockholm. The road from Helsingborg to this place cannot be exceeded by any in Europe. It is made by the government, as those in France, and renders travelling very expeditious, where the relays of horses are provided by a courier. The horses are all very small, and, as they harness them abreast of each other, and never drive with a fewer number than four, it has the air of a triumph, rather than a post chaise.

I did not see one bit, however small, either of gold or silver, in my long journey from Helsingborg to this place; nor have they, I am well assured, any such commodities in the provinces.

In lieu of these two articles, generally used among us, they have copper and paper, which supply their place. Their bank notes are as low as one shilling and sixpence, and they have them of all values, rising gradually from that sum. It was often not a little diverting, when I tendered them one of fifty copper dollars, which is adequate to twelve shillings and sixpence English, to see them bring both their hands full of copper coins; nor can they convert it into current money by any other means. Money here may truly be said to be a burthen, as the want of it is a curse.

This extreme scarcity, or rather, this absolute want of all gold and silver, is one of those numerous evils which originated from Charles XII's passion for war. It is well known, that towards the end of his reign, he obliged his subjects to give up all the silver of which they were possessed, and in its place he returned them small copper pieces, which he ordered to pass as silver dollars, value nine pence each, throughout his dominions. This was Baron Gortz's invention, to supply the king with money to carry on the war in Norway; and it cost him his head, after the death of his master. Numbers of these coins yet remain, though their imaginary value exists no longer, and they are reduced to their intrinsic worth, which is somewhat less than a farthing, three of them constituting a halfpenny.

The weather was still extremely cold in this climate. There was, likewise, an evident difference between this province and that of East Gothland; in the latter, the trees were mostly in leaf, whereas here the spring was much more backward, and in some parts there were scarce signs of its approach. These kingdoms may

well be called the domain of winter, since he reigns here for nine months in full possession.

As I approached the capital, the country appeared still more rocky, barren, and desert, and at the distance of a single mile from it, I was ready to fancy myself in the most unfrequented and desolate wild. Nothing marks the vicinity of a great metropolis. Agriculture cannot exert her powers, or labour produce harvests, where nature has denied the means. The eye discerns nothing on every side except firs and rugged rocks; and it would seem as if famine had here fixed her eternal residence.

I entered Stockholm over a floating bridge, of a very considerable length, across the river. After having undergone a very strict search, at the gates, I proceeded into the city; and took up my lodgings close to the palace; and, as my landlord informed me, in the very apartments where his grace the archbishop of Upsal resided during six months, previous to the coronation of his present majesty, which office he performed. Yet, a monk of La Trappe might almost occupy them without an infringement of his vow of mortification; and though I paid a ducat and a half, or fourteen shillings, a week, I was scarcely ever so indifferently accommodated in any city of Europe. The quality, which induced the archbishop to take them, was, no doubt, their vicinity to the palace. It would be difficult to discover any other to recommend them.

I cannot say that I found many charms, at first, in this city; the court were all in the country, at their respective palaces, and there was only one public diversion during the week, which was a Swedish opera,

In almost every point of view, the situation of Stockholm is injudicious and improper for the capital of the kingdom. Policy, plenty, and commerce, seem all to dictate another part of Sweden as much more eligible.

The inhabitants themselves assured me, that the place owed its original, only about three centuries ago, to an accidental contingency, which may in some measure account for its unpropitious site. The viceroy, who at that time governed the country under Christian II. of Denmark, determined to found a city; and instead of fixing on a proper spot for the execution of his plan, he very whimsically set a large piece of wood afloat down the Meler Lake, and resolved that at whatever place it should stop, there to build his projected town. A small island arrested the stick in its progress, and the name of Stockholm is said to have been given it from this circumstance.

I was shewn the exact point of land where tradition says it happened, and where the first buildings of the city were erected. However this be, it was hardly possible to have found a more barren desert, or a less inviting situation in all almost all respects. Even the river has a number of inconveniences, as it winds in a surprising manner, and having no tides, ships must have a fair wind to reach the town; and should it be contrary, it is absolutely impossible. If I pointed out that spot of Sweden, which appears to me best adapted for the situation of a capital, I should mention Carlscrone. Its central situation between Copenhagen and Petersburg; its vicinity to Pomerania and Germany; the fertile province of Scania, accounted the finest in Sweden, behind it; a port capable of containing the whole fleet, and in

which they are at this time always stationed; its climate, more mild and southern than that of Stockholm by some degrees; all these circumstances combined, sufficiently indicate its superior advantages.

There is somewhat uncommonly savage and inhospitable in the whole circumjacent country here. Even in this lovely season, when all animate and inanimate nature wakes from the long slumber of a polar winter, every thing is joyless and unfertile, and the rays of the sun are reflected from the expanse of stone which invests the city round on every side, and from whose bosom no verdure springs to relieve the eye.

This kingdom has, however, been more productive of immortal and sublime spirits, than all the others of the north. I felt myself affected with a reverential awe, as I walked through the church which contains all that is mortal of Gustavus Adolphus, of Torstenson, of Baner, and Charles XII. I stepped with decent humility over the vaults where their bodies are interred, and found a melancholy satisfaction in surveying the marble raised to their deathless fame.

I had several conversations with the natives here on the subject of the victories and death of the last of these heroes. They are almost unanimous in the apprehension, or rather avowal, that he was put to death by those about him, and did not fall by a shot from the walls of Fredericshall, as is commonly supposed.

Monsieur Voltaire has taken great pains to prove the contrary, and to vindicate the engineer who accompanied him, at the time, from so foul a suspicion; but different conclusions may be drawn from his premises. "The king," says he, "walked

“walked out to view the state of the advances made by his forces: it was night; he kneeled down, the better to inspect them, and leaned his head on his hands. In this attitude, amid the darkness, he received a ball into his temple, and fell on the parapet, fetching a deep sigh. He was dead in an instant; but in that instant he had yet force and courage to put his hand to his sword, and lay in that posture. Megret, a French engineer, immediately, said with a coolness which distinguished his character—“The play is over; let us be gone!”

Megret's remark was such, as one can with difficulty suppose any man to make, who had not a pre-sentiment of the winding up of this bloody catastrophe. Add to this, that the Swedes were tired of a prince, under whom they had lost their richest provinces, their bravest troops, their national riches. No disasters could reclaim the monarch from his ambitious, though unsuccessful, pursuits; and therefore, nothing remained but to dispatch him. It was a very favourable opportunity, and was improved to the utmost. The prince of Hesse, his brother-in-law, made little enquiry into the affair, and all passed without noise or tumult.

I am the more inclined to give credit to this relation of Charles's death, from my own remarks on his dress. In the arsenal they preserve, with great care, the clothes he was habited in at the time he fell. These I examined very minutely. The coat is a plain blue cloth regimental one, such as every common soldier wore. Round the waist he had a broad buff-leather belt, in which hung his sword. The hat is torn only about an inch square in that part of it which lies over the temple,

temple, and certainly would have been much more injured by a large shot. His gloves are made of very fine leather, and as the left one is perfectly clean and unsoiled, could only have been newly put on. The right hand glove is covered in the inside with blood, and the belt, at that part where the handle or hilt of his sword lay, is likewise bloody; so that it seems clear he had previously put his hand to his head on receiving the blow, before he attempted to draw his sword, and make resistance. However, as he expired in the instant, no absolute inference can be made; and after having exhausted conjecture, we must draw a veil over this ambiguous and dark transaction, and rest contented with that ignorance and uncertainty which so often waits on the deaths of sovereigns. Dr. Johnson justly says of Charles XII.

“ His fall was destin’d to a barren strand,  
 “ A petty fortress, and a dubious hand;  
 “ He left the name at which the world grew pale,  
 “ To point a moral, or adorn a tale.”

The palaces in Sweden, though numerous enough, are less splendid or magnificent than I have seen in most other countries of Europe. Neither architecture nor painting display their beauties here, in any great degree; and their monarchs, though crowned with laurels and military trophies, have never signalized themselves by the protection of the softer arts, which humanize and refine a nation. There is, however, one signal exception to this remark in the person of the present queen dowager. This exalted lady, who is sister to the reigning king of Prussia, is the avowed protectress of letters, and encourager of merit. Her summer residence is at Droningholm. This palace is



worthy of notice, though it is neither large nor splendid. It is composed of brick, and was erected by Charles X. about the middle of the last century. Its situation is singular, on the banks of the Meler Lake, which almost washes one of its sides. The gardens, which are large, and extend in front of it, form a fine contrast to the prospects from every other part, which are only rude rocks, firs, and water. It is the triumph of cultivation and elegance, opposed to that of a savage wilderness. All the apartments of the palace demonstrate the fine taste of its owner. Some of them contain collections of gems and medals; others are filled with natural curiosities, marbles, petrifications, and insects. The names of Paul Veronese, of Rubens, and of Rembrandt, are not here unknown, and several of their best pieces appear in the rooms.

I was astonished to see so ample a library; the books are collected with great judgment, and are in every branch of science. I was assured that the queen understands Latin as well as the modern languages; and I could not help remarking a Horace which lay open on her reading desk, among several English, French, and Italian authors. She has enriched this palace with many valuable antiquities brought from Herculaneum; and the idols of Egypt, Serapis, Isis, and the dog Anubis, are among her collection. I must own I was very agreeably surprised to find myself surrounded with all the richest productions of Greece and Italy, at a little villa on the banks of a lake in Sweden, where I only expected to see the standards of Charles XII. or the battles of Gustavus Adolphus, wove in tapestry. There are, however, two galleries which are painted in that style: one

is decorated with the victories of Charles X. and the other with those of his son Charles XI. The kings of this country seem to have possessed talents for war by hereditary right; and we find not one of them, who appears in that point of light, to have degenerated from their great founder, Gustavus Vasa. In some families there appears an entailed heroic courage, while others shew the brightest virtues of the mind in lineal descent.

In the gardens, the queen dowager has lately built a little palace of pleasure, in a semi-circular form, composed of several apartments fitted up in that taste which we usually call the Chinese; though, unless a few Mandarins and Vases of China form this style, of which we really know scarce any thing, it may just as well be called an European structure, where whimsy and caprice form the predominant character, and spread a grotesque air through the whole.

The city of Stockholm forms a very striking contrast to the capital of Denmark. It is larger considerably; but its superiority of size results more from singularity of situation, than any real advantage it has over Copenhagen in that respect. It is built on seven small islands, or rocks formed by the river, and the suburbs extend on the main land to a considerable distance, north and south. The inequality of the ground renders almost all the streets steep and inconvenient for carriages; but the houses are lofty and handsome, though chiefly composed of brick. It is enlarged nearly half since the death of Charles XII. and there are many very noble streets in these new quarters, of a vast length.

In the midst of the city, stands the royal palace, on a hill very steep on every side, and commands

a complete prospect of the metropolis, the river, and circumjacent country. It is square, fronting every way, and though much inferior in convenience or splendor, in the internal part, to that of Copenhagen, has a better effect when viewed from without. It was begun by Charles XI. continued under Frederic and the late king, but is not yet totally completed. During the winter, the whole royal family reside in it, though dispersed in the summer months at their respective country seats. Many of the apartments are splendidly furnished; but there is nothing which can vie with Droningholm in the exhibition of art and refinement.

Scarce any thing can be imagined more lovely and agreeable, than the appearance of the river; it is divided into a number of branches, the sides of which are covered with public buildings, and elegant houses. In some places, where the breadth is very considerable, its stream is perfectly tranquil and slow; in others, where the channel is narrow, it rushes through with the impetuosity of a torrent. So many small islands are formed by it below the town, that almost every magazine of naval or military stores possesses a detached one; and there is a wild and romantic cast through the whole landscape, which is not unpleasing to the spectator, and which characterizes northern views.

The quay is not long, but of a prodigious breadth; and I am assured there is ten fathoms water close to the shore. In several respects it is almost unrivalled.

I had the honour to be presented to the king on the 2d of June; and of a prince so distinguished for his abilities, and who at the early age of twenty-

twenty-six, was able to change the form of government, without blood or difficulty, it is impossible to be silent. But to give a more complete idea of the late revolution, and of its causes and consequences, it is necessary to take a review of the Swedish history for about half a century back.

The oppression of the concluding years of the reign of Charles XII. was such, that on his death in 1718, the states obliged his sister Ulrica Eleonora, previous to her ascending the throne, to renounce all hereditary right or absolute power, and to hold the crown merely by elective consent. She resigned even this limited sovereignty two years after, into the hands of her husband the prince of Hesse, who died in 1751. He had the reputation of a brave and active king, and it is generally apprehended, would have repossessed himself of that power which his queen had been deprived of, if his want of children had not made him indifferent to such an acquisition.

Adolphus, the late sovereign, was a weak man, and under him the democratical authority attained its utmost height. The royal revenue was very inadequate to his dignity, and his weight in the scale of government became inconsiderable and despised.

In this situation Gustavus III. succeeded to the crown. He possessed the same advantage over his two immediate predecessors, which his present majesty George III. of England did over his, on his accession; that he was born in the country over which he reigned, and spoke the language perfectly. The Swedes, who, since the year 1720, had seen only foreigners on the throne, were charmed to have once more a king from among

themselves ; and silver medals were struck to commemorate this happy era, on the reverse of which is this inscription—*Fadern's land et*, “ It is my native land.”

If full credit is to be given to the accounts of the late procedures of government, while vested in the senate, it was high time to redress the injuries they did the state, which suffered greater evils from their resolution, the delays, the divisions of a large assembly, than it can ever undergo from an absolute monarch. Time had matured these seeds of dissatisfaction ; and a young prince, beloved by his subjects, was ready to take advantage of them.

On the 19th of August, 1772, this extraordinary event was produced, which again restored to the crown those prerogatives she had lost for more than half a century. The king's secrecy, address, and dissimulation, in so dangerous and critical a juncture, far surpassed what might have been expected from his age. It is said only five persons in the kingdom were intrusted with the design, which was carried into execution with as much vigour, as it had been planned with sagacity and judgment. The soldiery and the people were successively gained by the eloquence with which the young king addressed them. Very few persons were imprisoned, and that only for a short time ; nor have any of them experienced, in the smallest degree, any diminution of the royal favour on account of their opposition. The senate took a new oath of allegiance to the prince, and tranquillity was restored throughout the kingdom.

It must not be imagined, however, that an unlimited monarchy is established in Sweden. On the contrary, they pretend that the present form

of government is built on the model of the English one, and that in some important particulars, the sovereign is more restricted than ours, since he can neither make war nor peace without the approbation of the other branches of the administration. It is, however, difficult to say, what limits are exactly fixed, or how far they may be enlarged and infringed, particularly under a prince who has already succeeded in his first enterprise, and certainly possesses, in an eminent degree, many of those qualifications and talents, which have a prodigious influence over the multitude.

He is affable in his manners and conversation even to condescension, which must infallibly render him beloved. He inspects into every department of state in his own person, and the meanest subject may present his grievances without fear of repulse. His soldiery adore him, and the peculiar attention he pays to their discipline, the continual reviews he makes of his regiments in different parts of his dominions, his disdain of fatigue, and undoubted personal courage, may probably render Sweden some years hence more important in the scale of Europe, than she has been since Charles's death\*. Unable to reward those officers who adhered particularly to him at the revolution, with pensions or pecuniary emoluments, he has found means to attach them by ribbons and stars, which he distributed without parsimony, and which are equally effectual, without draining an exhausted treasury. He has likewise

\* The melancholy catastrophe of Gustavus III. who began his career with so much address, and shewed such proofs of firmness and magnanimity on many trying occasions, is still fresh in the recollection of the public.

founded a new order of knighthood, known by the name of Vasa, designed for men of merit in every station, and which is conferred, without the least attention to birth or distinction, on every man who deserves well of his country.

His majesty is active on all occasions, more commonly on horse-back than in a carriage, and has rarely any of the parade of royalty. In his person he is rather low, and inclined to thinness; his face is not handsome, and, what is singular, one side of it does not resemble the other, his features being a little distorted; an accident which probably happened in the birth.

I could not help remarking, in those rooms which the king occupies, that the walls were covered with views of Narva and Pultowa, and that on the tables lay plans of battles and sieges innumerable, chiefly those fought by Charles XII. and the other Swedish kings. This plainly evinces the nature of his studies.

On the 3d of June, I quitted Stockholm, in company with a gentleman who did me the honour to be my guide, in a tour to Upsal and the Mines, and to whose politeness and attention I was exceedingly indebted. We stepped into our vis-à-vis about six in the evening, and only stopping to change horses, about three o'clock in the morning, we arrived at the gentleman's seat, where we proposed making a short stay. I can hardly say we travelled by night, since, at this season of the year, darkness is unknown, and I could have very easily read a good print at midnight. The house is built in one of the most eligible and pleasant situations in this country, on the banks of a lake, about nine English miles in circumference, and in a cultivated country. In the after-

noon

noon of the ensuing day, we crossed the lake in a boat, where it was about a league broad, to view the ruins of a castle on the opposite side, which exactly faces the house where we were entertained, and forms a beautiful termination of the view. An ancient peasant conducted us through such of the apartments as are yet accessible. He said, it was called Morby Palace, and had been built no less than eleven hundred years ago. It passed finally into the renowned family of the Oxenstierns, who inhabited it in the last century, but quitted it on account of its continual want of repairs. He added, that many of the Swedish sovereigns; in days of yore, had visited it, and that national diets had been held within its walls. It has, indeed, a most venerable and majestic appearance at this time, and there seemed to be an air of departed splendor spread through the whole, which corroborated very strongly the peasant's story. The evening was uncommonly fine, the sun shone full upon the ruins of the building, and its walls were washed by the waters of the lake. All nature around was serene and placid; no wind ruffled the surface.

We returned before supper to our benevolent host, who omitted nothing to render our visit agreeable, and pressinglly solicited us to prolong it some days. Early next morning, however, we proceeded on our journey, and were entertained at another magnificent country seat, belonging to the same gentleman, about thirty miles from the first, by his steward, to whom he had previously sent orders for that purpose. We drove twenty miles in the afternoon, and alighted about five at a palace, rather than a villa, belonging to a lady, whose husband was an Englishman, and was lately



lately dead. The name of the house is Forfmark. She was playing at chess, with an old nobleman, when we entered, and most politely bid us welcome; requesting us, at the same time, to make as long a stay as our time would admit. I complied with so polite an invitation, without knowing the superadded inducements I afterwards found. Tea was brought, and two ladies, who, as well as ourselves, were visitors, entered the room. The eldest of these might, perhaps, be about sixty. She was a native of England, and was married to Count Gyllenbourg, during his residence as envoy at the court of London, in the reign of George I. The youngest, who was her niece, might be between nineteen and twenty years of age. A few freckles, which the sun had produced on her skin, in spite of every care to prevent it, only served to set off the fairest complexion in the world. Her features were very small, and the contour of her face more approaching to the round than oval. Her under lip, in speaking, hung a little down, and disclosed, at times a range of teeth perfectly clean and white. The colour of her eyes was grey; but nature had given them a persuasive and affecting eloquence, which left the gazer no power to critically examine them. Her hands were exquisitely formed; her fingers long, and her nails finely shaped. Her habit was a *jesuite a la campagne*. It was of purple brown, trimmed with white silk, and reaching to the wrists. Round her neck she wore a blue and white-satin binding, and from that depended a little diamond cross. Her hair was light, and dressed with a very becoming grace. Through her whole person and dress, was a *propreté* and neatness, which was strikingly attractive,

ative, and which had peculiar merit in a country where the women of every condition, are rather liable to the contrary imputation. Her conversation was such as became a person of education and condition. She spoke the purest French, and with the most graceful delivery, and could converse fluently in English, which she had learned from her aunt. She sung prettily, and at my request favoured me with two or three Swedish, as well as French songs. I was more pleased with the former, which I did not understand, than with the latter, which I could perfectly comprehend. I wished to know the sentiment couched under the words, and desired her to inform me what was the subject of them. She declined this explanation, from an incapacity of transfusing its beauty into another language; and I seemed perfectly convinced, that her avowed excuse was just, though my heart assigned a truer reason for her refusal, and gave me, perhaps, as faithful an idea of the song, as a literal translation could have done. It is needless to say, I paid to such a woman all that humble and assiduous attention, which her personal and mental accomplishments so justly challenged, and to which I could not be insensible. She seemed pleased with my endeavours to render myself acceptable to her, and I had the vanity and the weakness to imagine, that I had soon some little interest in her esteem. We all breakfasted in our separate rooms the next morning, according to the custom here; where people never meet, as in England, round a large tea-table.

On coming down, I found Count Liewen, the nobleman whom I mentioned at my first arrival. He possesses the highest honours Sweden can bestow,

flow, being one of the sixteen senators, and a knight of the Seraphim, which is the most honourable of any order. Our conversation turning on Charles XII. his character, and victories, I asked him, if he remembered that monarch's death, and would favour me with the particulars of it. He gave me the fullest answer to this question, as nearly as memory will allow, in the following words:

“ There are now very few alive, said he, who can speak with so much certainty to that point as myself. I was in the camp before Fredericshall, and had the honour to serve the king in quality of page, on that night when he was killed. I have no doubt that he was assassinated. The night was extremely dark, and it was almost an impossibility that a ball from the fort could enter his head at the distance, and on the spot where he stood. I saw the king's body, and am certain the wound in his temple was made by a pistol bullet. Who gave it is unknown. Siker was suspected, because he was not with his majesty previous to the blow, but appeared a moment after. Those, added he, who are used to military affairs, know the report and noise which a cannon ball makes; but the report of the shot, which destroyed the king, was that of a piece close at hand, and totally different. It was the general opinion in the army at the time, that he was put to death by a private hand.”

I was absolutely enchanted with the conversation of this venerable nobleman, and felt that wisdom can fascinate as much as beauty, where it is so pre-eminently possessed. Was not my self-command, therefore, to be applauded, when, in spite of so many inducements to prolong my stay,

I yet forced myself away the following evening, and pursued, though with reluctance, my intended journey? I must, however, mention one circumstance relative to the young lady of whom I spoke before, which may, perhaps, raise a smile at my expence. There is an odd *etiquette* adjusted in this part of the world for female deportment, which permits to a lover, or an acquaintance, the most unbounded familiarity with the hand of his mistress; but her lips, nay, her very cheek is a palladium which she guards with unremitting vigilance, and to which neither eloquence nor subtilty can usually procure him any access. I was resolved to try whether I could not surmount this vexatious obstacle, and obtain one conquest over the tyranny of prescription. I bethought me of a stratagem, and already bound my brow with the myrtles I made myself sure of gathering: When I was taking my leave, I began with the mistress of the mansion, and returning her my warmest acknowledgments for her bounty and hospitality, bowed most respectfully on her hand, which she gave me to salute. "And now, madam," said I in English to the old lady, "I shall take leave of you in the English style: I am sure you have no objection." So saying, I put my arms about her neck, and kissed her cheek. She was very well satisfied with this piece of gallantry, and said to me, laughing, "Go and serve Charlotte so." I advanced, elate with joy, and throwing into my attitude and countenance, the utmost humility and supplication, asked if I might not aspire to such an honour. I should not, however, have waited for an explicit consent, and was just going to reap the fruit of my intrigues and labours, when, stepping

back hastily two paces, she laid her hand on her breast, with an air which implied more than any words could have done, and throwing a look at me of surprise and refusal—"Sir," said she, "you must remember that I am a native of Sweden."—She needed not to be more minute or firm in her determination: I saw that I had undertaken an enterprise above my capacity, and had only to endeavour to retire with honour. Her hand she tendered me; and making a virtue of necessity, I imprinted on it a cold kiss, and bade her farewell. She looked at me when I left the room, and accompanying us to the gate, followed the carriage with her eye till it was out of sight. Whether she intended this as some compensation for her rejection of my attempt, or whether she did not partly repent of having refused, from an illiberal prejudice, so innocent a liberty, I cannot pretend to say.

We lay at a very pretty village, called Östaby, on the night of the 5th, and went about three miles next morning to see the mines of Danmora. They are celebrated for producing the finest iron ore in Europe, the iron of which is exported into every country, and constitutes one of the most important sources of the national wealth and royal revenue. The ore is not dug, as in the mines of tin or coal, which we have in England, but is torn up by powder. This operation is performed every day at noon, and is one of the most tremendous and awful it is possible to conceive. We arrived at the mouth of the great mine, which is near half an English mile in circumference, in time to be present at it. Soon after twelve, the first explosion began. I cannot compare it to any thing so aptly as subterraneous

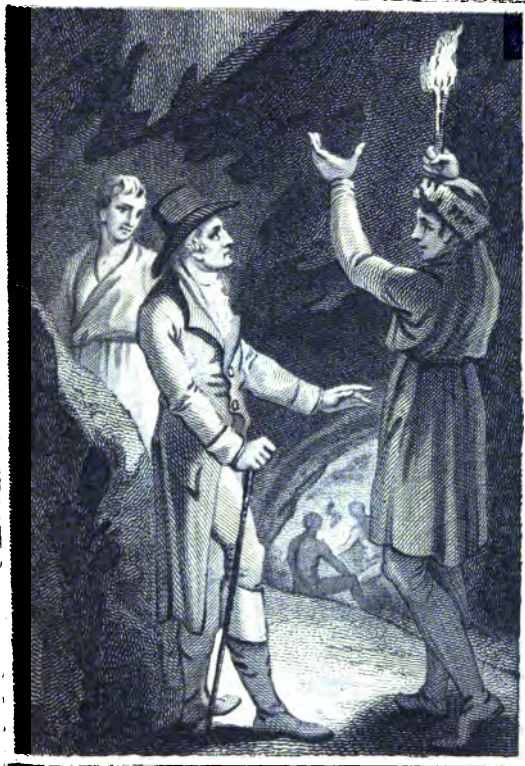
thunder, or rather volleys of artillery discharged under ground. The stones are thrown up by the violence of the powder to a vast height above the surface of the ground, and the concussion is so great as to shake the surrounding earth or rock on every side.

As soon as the explosions were finished, I determined to descend into the mine. There is no way to do this, but in a large deep bucket, capable of containing three persons, and fastened by chains to a rope. The inspector, at whose house I had slept the preceding night, took no little pains to dissuade me from the resolution, and pointed out the frequent and melancholy accidents that happen on such occasions, from which no care could absolutely ensure me. Finding, however, that I was deaf to all his remonstrances, he provided me a clean bucket, and put two men into it to accompany me. I am not ashamed to own, that when I found myself thus suspended between heaven and earth by a rope, and looked down into the deep and dark abyss below me, to which I could see no termination, I shuddered with apprehension, and half repented my curiosity. This was, however, only a momentary sensation, and before I had descended a hundred feet, I looked round on the scene with very tolerable composure. I was near nine minutes before I reached the bottom, it being eighty fathoms, or four hundred and eighty feet. The view of the mine, when I set my foot to the earth, was awful and sublime in the highest degree: whether terror or pleasure formed the predominant feeling as I looked at it, is hard to say. The light of the day was very faintly admitted into these subterranean caverns. In many places it

was absolutely lost, and flambeaux supplied its place. I saw beams of wood across some parts from one side of the rock to the other, where the miners sat, employed in boring holes for the admission of powder, with the most perfect unconcern, though the least dizziness, or even a failure in preserving their equilibrium, must have made them lose their seat, and dashed them to pieces against the rugged surface of the rock beneath. The fragments torn up by the explosion previous to my descent, lay in vast heaps on all sides, and the whole scene was calculated to inspire a gloomy admiration.

I remained three quarters of an hour in these gloomy and frightful caverns, and traversed every part of them which was accessible, conducted by my guides. The weather above was very warm, but here the ice covered the whole surface of the ground, and I found myself surrounded with the colds of the most rigorous winter, amid darkness and caves of iron. In one of these, which ran a considerable way under the rock, were eight wretches warming themselves round a charcoal fire, and eating the little scanty subsistence produced from their miserable occupation. They rose with surprise at seeing so unexpected a guest among them, and I was not a little pleased to dry my feet, which were wet with treading on the melted ice, at their fire.

There are no less than one thousand three hundred of these men constantly employed in the mines, and their pay is only a copper dollar, or three pence English, a day. They were first opened about 1580, under the reign of John III. but have only been worked constantly since Christina's time. After having gratified my curiosi-



*W. Wrasall visiting the Iron Mines  
of Danmora.* p. 88.

*Published Oct. 1. 1797. by E. Newbery, corner of St. Paul's.*





ty, with a full view of these subterranean apartments, I made the signal for being drawn up, and felt so little terror while reascending, compared with that of being let down, that I am convinced, in five or six times more, I should have been perfectly indifferent to it. So strong is the effect of custom on the human mind, and so contemptible does danger or horror become, when familiarized by continual repetition.

Leaving the mines of Danmora, we proceeded to the seat of Baron de Geer, at Lofsta, which is about twenty miles distant. He was gone, himself, into the province of Gestricia, only the day before; but had left the strictest orders for our entertainment and reception with his steward, who performed with punctuality his master's command, and seemed to know no bounds to his hospitality and respect. This is one of the handsomest country seats in Sweden, and is, I believe, one of the most northern in Europe. Nature is every where forced at an immense expence, and art has omitted nothing to embellish and adorn a spot, which, without it, must be a melancholy marsh, devoid of any beauty or charm. It may be a very agreeable residence for a few weeks in July and August, but is too near the pole, to be tolerable the far greater part of the year. Such is my detestation of these inhospitable and polar countries, that no honours or fortunes could tempt me to remain in them, and I would rather reside in a cottage, beneath a temperate and genial heaven, than in a palace invested so many months with ice and darkness. This sentiment the Swedes laugh at, and assure me that there are pleasures in furs and sledges, and the rigours of winter, of which I have no conception. I am very ready

to allow it, and only desire to be excused from experiencing them in my own person. Providence has been kind enough to the natives of all countries, to inspire them with a predilection for their own, or to blind them to its disadvantages; but this cannot apply to strangers, who are at liberty to compare, and free to judge.

From Baron de Geer's seat, we had about twenty-five miles to the river Dahl, which divides the provinces of Upland and Gestrícia. Here we left our carriage, and passed over in a boat to the island of Elfcar-Eue. It is about three miles in circumference, and almost entirely covered with woods of aspen, birch, and fir, which, at this season of the year, are very beautiful, and spread a gloom and awfulness not unpleasing to a contemplative mind. We lodged at a very genteel house, the master and mistress of which omitted no endeavours to render our visit agreeable. It was our intention to have made but a short stay here, but I found it impossible so soon to quit a place where I enjoyed the most sublime and wondrous prospect I can almost conceive. This is the cataract of the river Dahl, about a mile and a half distant from the house where we took up our abode.

The Dahl rises in Norwegian Lapland, and after passing through a vast extent of country, empties itself into the sea about twenty miles from this place. It is above half a mile broad between the island Elfcar-Eue and the falls; but at the cataracts, its banks being much narrower, it runs with vast impetuosity. A small island, or rather rock, of half a quarter of a mile in circumference, divides the river at the place. In the winter, when one of the cataracts is frozen over, the

the island is accessible ; but at this time it would be impossible to reach it alive. The eye takes in both falls at once from either bank. The depth of each is about forty feet ; but one is abrupt and perpendicular, the other oblique and shelving. As nearly as I can judge by my eye, the breadth is not, in either, less than eighty or ninety yards. The tremendous roar of these cataracts, which, when close, is superior far to the loudest thunder ; the vapour which rises incessantly from them, and even obscures them from the eye in many parts ; the agitation of the river below, for several hundred yards before it resumes its former tranquillity ; and the sides covered with tall firs, which seem like silent and astonished spectators of it ; form one of the most picturesque and astonishing scenes to be beheld in nature's volume. It was only nine days before our arrival, that six unbappy fishermen were carried down by the rapidity of the current, and forced over the precipice, where they all perished. Four of their bodies were found, but so disfigured and torn by the water, that they could not be known, and many similar accidents have happened.

After having viewed the cataracts, I drove about three miles along the banks of the river, to see the intrenchments made by the Russians, when they landed in 1719, and burnt the country on every side. Here I alighted from my carriage, and as this spot is the boundary of my journey to the north, and the nearest approach I shall probably ever make to the pole, I could not help leaving some memento of my wanderings, by engraving, with a pen-knife, on the bark of a tall aspen, the name of my mistress, and the year when I visited these inclement kingdoms. At this island,

I was only about two hundred miles from Umeå Lapland, and I could scarcely entertain a wish to proceed farther in this direction, where nature begins to be divested of every captivating charm, and man himself to dwindle from the rigours of the climate.

Turning our faces, therefore, towards the south, in our way to Upsal, we arrived at Soderfors, which is twenty miles distant from Elfskarne, about ten o'clock, Friday morning, June 9th. The road lies along the sides of the Dahl, on which the village itself is situated. After staying to view the forges for anchors at this place, we proceeded to Upsal, and arrived there early in the evening. I intended to devote the following day to the survey of the colleges, public buildings, curiosities, paintings, and all those exhibitions of art and learning usually found in seminaries of knowledge and study. The Swedes had inspired me with such exalted ideas of this university, that I was only fearful lest a single day might be far inadequate to such an undertaking, and wished to have spent a longer time in so agreeable an occupation. I was, however, most completely undeceived; for Upsal has hardly one inducement to draw a man of taste to visit it, unless from being the residence of Linnæus. This Lyceum of the north has not one piece of painting within its walls, and only two of sculpture, which are busts of Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XI. A gentleman, who resides here, did us the honour to be our ciceroni, and to conduct us over the place. I enquired of him how many colleges there were, and which was the most celebrated. "Sir," said he, "we have three; but I cannot say that any one of them deserves your

**notice.** The principal objects of attention are, the library, the cathedral, and the botanical garden. I know not of any thing else." The first of these is a neat good building, and contains a cabinet, in which are a number of little trinkets, rather than rarities, preserved with great care. Among these, is the identical bag which Judas kept, one of the thirty pieces of silver money, which he received for his perfidy in delivering up his master, and a pair of red slippers, in which the Virgin Mary paid a visit to her cousin Elizabeth. I must do the man the justice to say, that he blushed as he shewed them to me; and I could not help telling him, that I thought the university would not do amiss to send these precious relics to St. Januarius, or to my lady of Loretto, who might probably be highly obliged by so valuable an accession.

The cathedral is built of brick; and as the two towers at the west end lately wanted repair, they have, with great taste, added a Doric architrave to these Gothic walls, and placed two great domes of copper on the top. It must, notwithstanding the meanness of its materials, be for ever venerable, while the remains of Gustavus Vasa, and Chancellor Oxenstiern repose in it. The last of these great men, whose virtue and wisdom Sweden yet reveres, rests in an obscure chapel, beneath a common stone. He has no monument erected, or epitaph inscribed to his memory; while a St. Eric, who was a king and a devotee in some barbarous age, is preserved in a shrine of silver gilt, and placed on the right hand of the high altar.

There were at this time near one thousand five hundred students in the university of Upsal.

They

They are not, however, young men of family and condition, as with us, but for the most part are miserably poor, and lodge five or six together, in wretched hovels, amid dirt and penury. The professors in different branches of literature are about twenty-two, the most ample of whose salaries does not exceed one hundred and thirty, or one hundred and forty, pounds per annum, and are, in general, not half that sum.

On our first arrival, the gentleman who accompanied me, and who was intimately acquainted with Linnæus, sent his compliments to say, that he would do himself the honour to wait on him, if agreeable, immediately, and would introduce at the same time, an English gentleman, who had been induced to visit Upsal from the fame of so great a man. He sent us word, in return, that he would pay us a visit in the afternoon, at three o'clock, after his dinner. He came punctually at the hour marked, and after staying some time, conducted us to the botanical garden, where he shewed us his collection of plants, shrubs, and flowers, which are very numerous, and have been presented to him from every part of the globe. At the door he took his leave and quitted us. This celebrated botanist was in the sixty-ninth year of his age. He is of a middle size, inclining to short, which is still increased by his stooping prodigiously when he walks.

He was dressed in a plain blue suit of clothes, and booted, as is common with the Swedes. At his button hole hung the white cross, of the order of the polar star, which was conferred on him by the late king Adolphus, who admired and honoured him. He enjoys a very easy independence from his salary, and pupils in the university; besides

besides which, he is said to be possessed of a considerable fortune acquired by his profession. He has a country house about five miles out of town, and keeps his chariot. He has one son and four daughters alive; but I do not find they possess any of their father's genius; though his son is botanical professor.

Linnæus has been in England, France, and Germany, but speaks no languages except the Latin and Swedish; in the former of which he converses with perfect facility. His knowledge, I am assured, is by no means universal, but confined almost absolutely to natural history, in which it is unbounded. His faculties are as yet unimpaired, except his memory, which begins to suffer some diminution.

The remark, that a prophet has no honour in his own country, is very much verified in Linnæus; and I found those persons, who were intimately conversant with his life and actions, more inclined to dwell on his personal imperfections, his foibles, and his weaknesses, than to expatiate on his astonishing talents and extended fame. Thus it always is, where we view the object at too inconsiderable a distance, and through the medium of those littlenesses which are inseparable from humanity. Well might the witty Rochefoucault assert, that "Admiration and acquaintance are incompatible." Time only can hold up to view pre-eminent merit, and assign it the due rank in the temple of fame.

Upsal was anciently the chief residence of the kings of Sweden, and is much older than the present metropolis. It is situated in a vast plain, open on all sides, and at present covered with grain. The houses are mostly of wood, nor is



there one public or private edifice of stone in the city. We left it Sunday morning the 12th, and returned to Stockholm the same evening.

In this journey of near ten days, I had almost made the complete tour of the province of Upland. The country is chiefly a horrid desert, covered with shapeless stones, or with impenetrable woods, incapable of cultivation, and devoid of inhabitants. The quantity of land employed in tillage does not bear the proportion of one to twenty. Nature has, however, made them, in some degree, amends for this parsimony, by enriching these barren wastes with inexhaustible mines of copper, iron, and silver. The peasants are chiefly employed in the manufacture of these metals; and I visited six or seven forges on my journey, each of which constantly employs from four to fourteen hundred workmen in iron only. No Cyclops were ever more dexterous in working their materials. I have seen them stand close to, and hammer, in their coarse frocks of linen, a bar of ore, the heat and refulgence of which were almost insupportable to me at ten feet distance, and with the sparks of which they are covered from head to foot. I had the pleasure of viewing the whole process used to reduce the ore into iron, and must own it is very curious and interesting. They first roast it in the open air for a considerable time, after which it is thrown into a furnace, and when reduced to fusion, is poured into a mould of sand, about three yards in length. These pigs, as they are then denominated, are next put into a forge, heated to a prodigious degree; they break off a large piece with pinchers, when red hot, and this is beat to a lesser size with hammers. It is put again into the

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fire, and from thence entirely finished, by being laid under an immense engine resembling a hammer, which is turned by water, and flattens the rude piece into a bar.

Nothing can exceed the dexterity of the men who conduct this concluding part of the operation, as the eye is their sole guide, and it requires an exquisite nicety and precision. It is certainly a most happy circumstance that Sweden abounds with these employments for her peasants, as, from the ungrateful soil and inclement latitude, they must otherwise be obnoxious to extreme want and misery.

Through the whole country are lakes, and and pieces of inland water, on the banks of which their palaces and villas are usually built. The hospitality I met with in this tour was unbounded. It would even be resented, if a stranger visited a forge without paying his compliments to the owner, who expects that mark of his attention and respect. This custom plainly shews how few persons travel in these parts of Europe: if they were numerous, it would be quickly laid aside, or at least restrained within narrower limits. I cannot say as much in praise of the Swedish refinement or elegance, as of their benevolence and civility. There is a profusion of dishes at their entertainments, but no taste in the arrangement of them. The table groans beneath a number of covers, which are all brought in at once, and then left to cool during a ceremonious meal of at least two hours. But the prologue to this entertainment is even worse. Before they sit down to dinner, the company take bread and butter, which they wash down with a glass of brandy, and this horrid fashion prevails not only among persons of con-

dition, but extends even to the ladies as well as the men. I must own I cannot reconcile myself to a custom, which, though it doubtless originated from the extreme coldness of the climate, is only worthy the Muscovites before the reign of their reformer Peter.

A military spectacle detained me, at Stockholm, a day longer than I had intended. The scene lay in a large park, about an English mile without the gates of the city, where the camp had been pitched some weeks, and which is finely adapted for a martial entertainment, from the nature of the ground, which is irregular and full of declivities: the rising parts of it are covered with small woods of fir, and it is divided by a branch of the Meler Lake, over which is a floating bridge. The king of Sweden commanded about two regiments, mostly infantry; his youngest brother, Prince Frederic, had under him near one thousand troops, horse and foot. They were entirely ignorant of each others motions; his majesty only endeavouring to surround the inferior army, and the prince exerting his endeavours to effect a secure retreat. The queen dowager, with her daughter, the Princess of Sweden, were present in a little open chaise, which permitted them to follow the soldiery over the field, and be present every where. The king, dressed in his uniform, was mounted on a cream-coloured horse, and appeared as much animated and interested in this essay of arms as he could have been on a day of action. It was about five in the evening when it began. I cannot pretend to pursue the two generals through the different evolutions which passed in too rapid a succession, and were of too intricate a nature to admit of a minute description.

tion. The result was, however, favourable to the king; his brother having neglected to seize on a post which might have commanded a retreat, in case of emergency, found his error too late; and when he would have availed himself of this passage, discovered that his rival's troops were already in possession of it, having crossed the river in boats for that purpose. After having endeavoured, in vain, to force them from this post, he formed his infantry into a hollow square, and maintained a brisk fire, on all sides, for a considerable time; but finding himself environed by a much superior body of forces, and no possibility of escape, he delivered up his sword to the king, and his soldiers became prisoners of war. His cavalry had, however, seized on a small, but most advantageous, spot, and, unterrified by the fate of their companions, refused to surrender, and demanded permission to march off the ground with all military honours. Their fate was not yet decided when I quitted the place, at eleven o'clock at night. It was a very elegant and gallant diversion, finely designed to cultivate and practice the operations of a campaign, and keep alive the knowledge of war, even amid the most profound peace.

I left Stockholm at four o'clock the ensuing morning, June 17th, and reached Griselhamn, on the western shore of the Gulph of Bothnia, about eleven at night. I engaged a boat to carry me over to the isle of Aland: the weather was remarkably serene and pleasant, and the little breeze which played was favourable. I, therefore, lost no time; but putting my carriage into the boat, I took my seat in it, and wrapping myself up, fell asleep. When I awoke in the morn-

ing, we had performed more than two-thirds of the passage, which is forty-five English miles, and about noon I landed at Frebbenby, on the isle of Aland. My road to Finland lay entirely through it.

While I stopped to change horses at a little village, called Haroldsbj, the bailiff, or governor, passed me, and knowing I must be a stranger, very politely accosted me. I was glad to have such an opportunity of gaining a little information relative to the island. He said, it was about one hundred and eighty miles in circumference, and contained between five and six thousand inhabitants; that they paid no pecuniary taxes, but were only obliged to furnish a certain number of men for the defence of the kingdom; and that vassalage was perfectly unknown. "There is no town," continued he, "upon the island, and the peasants have always remonstrated against the founding any, as the Swedish government have repeatedly intended. My residence is at Castleholm, about three miles from hence, and close to which you must pass. It is an ancient fortress, built by the viceroy who founded Stockholm, and repaired by our celebrated Christina. It contains, at present, little worthy a traveller's attention. There is, indeed, a room where the unhappy King Eric XIV. was confined. I have had the curiosity some few years ago to visit it; but the access is, at this time, so ruinous, and even dangerous, that I cannot advise you to attempt it."

I returned him thanks for his advice, though I was fully determined to act in opposition to it; and having bid him adieu, pursued my journey. I arrived in half an hour at the castle; it stands

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in a beautiful situation, on the banks of a river, and commanding an extensive view on every side. It was with some difficulty that the passage to the chamber, where the king had been imprisoned, could be discovered; and it was with still greater difficulty I could enter it, when found. I crawled upon my hands and knees under an arch, the stones of which having fallen down in a course of years, had almost filled up the way; and after passing this narrow entrance, I had two ladders to mount, which did not appear capable of bearing much pressure. I followed, however, where my guide led the way, and entered the apartment through a trap-door.

I was struck with compassion and horror to think, that a sovereign had been the tenant of such a dungeon, which is too miserable for the worst malefactor. It is composed of stone, and vaulted overhead: I measured it by my paces; it was about twenty-three feet long, and twelve broad. The light is admitted by a narrow window, through a wall five feet in thickness. In one corner is a little fire-place, and in the other a cupboard hollowed in the wall. The flooring is of brick, and, as the guide pretended to shew me, is worn away in those places where the king was used to walk.

It seems Eric was the eldest son of Gustavus Vasa, and succeeded his father in 1560. His name appears among the list of our Elizabeth's suitors, but he appears to have been ill formed by nature for success in gallantry. He was immoderately addicted to the study of astrology, a weakness not confined to him alone, but which characterized the age in which he lived. He was deposed in 1568, by his brother John III. and

after being removed to different prisons, he ended his days at Gripsholm, in Sweden, though whether by a violent, or a natural, death, is more a matter of speculation and suspicion, than of certainty or fact. Every nation seems to have had its Eric. The Wenceslaus of the empire, the Peter III. of Russia, the Alphonso VI. of Portugal, and the Henry IV. of Castile, are only the same sad story differently told, and varying in minute circumstances. The English have had many Erics: our annals are more stained with royal blood, than any others of Europe. One hardly passes the ruin of a castle, where some of our princes have not, at different periods, been confined.

Having gratified my curiosity, I left Castleholm, and continuing my journey, arrived at the termination of the island as the sun set. It was my intention to have gone on to Finland by the post route, through several small islands, or rocks, between which there are constantly boats provided to convey travellers. Just as I was on the point of carrying this design into execution, some country people came, and proposed to convey me from thence straight to Abo. They said, the distance was only about one hundred and twenty English miles; that the wind was very fair; that they had often made the passage in twelve or fourteen hours, and doubted not to do the same now; that I needed not lose a moment, as their little vessel was in readiness, and only waited my orders. I did not hesitate long, but complied with the offer, and left Aland about midnight on the 18th. I slept, as I had done the preceding night, in my carriage, and at seven in the morning found myself in a narrow passage, surrounded by high rocks,

rocks, and the people employed in rowing. I made no question that we were already in the river of Abo; but was not a little chagrined to find, on enquiry, that the wind had fallen away, that we were hardly thirty miles from the place we had quitted. They added, that the whole way was through similar channels; that several of the islands by which I sailed were inhabited; and that if I pleased, they would land me on one of them for refreshment. To this I gladly consented, and about nine o'clock I went ashore on one called Lappo. I walked to a little hamlet at a mile distance from the shore: the poor peasants very cheerfully brought me some cream, and assisted in boiling my coffee. Nothing could exceed their poverty; a little black bread, fish, pork, and a sort of mixture, they called beer, constituting all their sustenance. After having made a very comfortable breakfast, on this almost unknown and sequestered island, I returned again to the boat.

During the whole day we pursued our voyage through a labyrinth of small rocks and isles, many of them covered with firs and aspens; some few green and beautiful, but far the greater number barren and rugged. Many of the prospects were, however, wondrously picturesque and romantic, and I frequently stopped the boatmen, for a minute, to gaze upon the extraordinary scene around me. Sometimes we went through channels of only twenty or thirty feet in breadth; sometimes the water opened into a considerable expanse, and often there appeared to be no avenue on any side. I was astonished how they so exactly steer their course in this intricate and perplexing maze, through which nothing besides long experience



rience could have conducted them. We were about forty miles from Abo when the sun went down, and I was once more obliged to sleep in my carriage: we entered the river early on the morning of the 20th, and about eight o'clock I finished my voyage.

There is not any thing in Abo which entertained me in the survey, or can amuse by the description. It is a wretched capital of a barren province. The houses are almost all of wood, and the archiepiscopal palace is composed of no better materials; but, by way of distinction, it is painted red. I enquired if there was any thing in the university to merit attention; but they assured me, it would be regarded as a piece of ridicule to visit it on such an errand, there being nothing within its walls, except a very small library, and a few philosophical instruments.

I waited on the governor soon after my arrival; he procured me horses on the road from hence to Helsingfors, the first town in my way to St. Peterburgh, and which is one hundred and twenty miles distant. As the weather, during the day, was now very hot, I delayed my departure till the evening. At this time there was a great annual fair at Abo; and I amused myself, in the afternoon, in looking from the window of my apartment, at a crowd of three or four thousand Finland peasants, who were collected together, and formed a curious *coup d'œil* in their country dresses.

Finland is not so sterile or uncultivated as I had been taught to expect. I saw no part of Sweden, except East Gothland, which is so free from those vast rocks which Nature, in her wrath, seems to have scattered over these kingdoms; nor any, where the soil is apparently more fertile, or the country

country better peopled. The peasants speak a jargon equally unintelligible to a Swede or a Russian; but, in the towns, the former language is generally used, or understood. I staid at Helsingfors a day, more to recover my past fatigue, than from the desire of seeing an immense fortress, built as a barrier against the Russians, and in which there was a garrison of eight thousand men. It is not yet entirely completed; but as more than two-thirds of the soldiery are constantly at work on the fortifications, it is to be presumed, it will be in full readiness for the next rupture between these rival nations.

I slept at the city of Borgo on the 24th, and at ten the ensuing evening I arrived at the confines of the Swedish monarchy. The river Kymen divides the empire of Russia from the dominions of Sweden: across it is a wooden bridge, one half of which is constantly repaired by the one, and the other half by the other, nation. I underwent a very minute search, from the guards on either side, before I was permitted to proceed.

At about a league beyond this boundary, my carriage broke down in a deep wood, more than two English miles from any habitation: it was about four in the morning when the accident happened; I left the postillion to guard the chaise, and walked on with my servant to the next Russian hamlet. We addressed ourselves to the first peasant we met, who happened to be a Swede by birth. After much entreaty, I prevailed on him to furnish me with a wheel from his own little charette. I thought myself very happy to procure this temporary aid, and by the help of it I arrived at Fredericshamn the same evening.

Here every thing announced a different people from those I had just quitted. The features, the complexion, the manners, the dress of the inhabitants were all Muscovite. A thousand leagues could not have made a more striking alteration than a few miles had done; and plainly evinces how strongly the character of the individuals which compose society is tinged and formed by the government, policy, and religion of the nation.

The plan of Frederichshamn is one of the most elegant I have ever seen; all the streets going off like radii from a centre, in which is a handsome hotel de ville. The unaffected politeness and hospitality with which I was received by General Sestikoff, to whom, as governor of the city I paid my compliments on my arrival, detained me here a day. He introduced me to the prince of Issembourg, a German, in the empress of Russia's service. The prince gave me the subsequent account of this country. "These provinces were, as you know," said he, "conquered from Frederic, king of Sweden, by the late empress Elizabeth. On the cession of them to her, and the evacuation of the Swedes, the best estates were bought by peasants, priests, and mechanics for the merest trifles; but the whole track is steril, uncultivated, and unpeopled. I have myself purchased above forty English miles of land since my arrival for only two thousand rubles\*." I recollected the prince's words as I drove from Frederichshamn to Wybourg, the whole intermediate country being the most savage, rocky, and inhospitable desert that can be conceived; from the

\* About four hundred pound sterling.

gates of one to the entrance of the other, I saw scarce any other signs of population than at the little hamlets where I stopped to change horses; yet has this frontier of the Swedish and Russian territory been as obstinately disputed, and caused the effusion of as much blood, as the most plentiful and happy regions of the earth; a convincing proof that ambition rather than interest is the frequent source of war.

I have seen no place since Stockholm, where there seems so much the face of industry and commerce as at Wybourg. It is a fortified city, and during the wars between Charles and Peter, when it belonged to the former of those princes, was reputed strong, the Russians having been more than once forced to raise the siege; but at present the fortifications are very ruinous.

On the 29th of June, I left Wybourg, and reached Petersburg, distant one hundred and ten English miles, without any thing remarkable. This great capital, though only a creation of the present century, has already grown to a vast size, and contains infinitely higher matter of entertainment and instruction than either of those from whence I lately came. I was struck with a pleasing astonishment, while I wandered among havens, streets, and public buildings, which have risen, as by enchantment, within the memory of men still alive; and have converted the marshy islands of the Neva into one of the most magnificent cities of the earth. The imagination, aided by so many visible objects, rises to the wondrous founder, and beholds in idea the tutelary genius of Peter, yet hovering over the child of his own production, and viewing with a parent's fondness its rising palaces and temples. The names on which ancient

ancient story dwells with so much fondness, sink on a comparison with this immortal man, and the fabulous legislators of Greece and Egypt never presumed to attempt the mighty transformation which the czar completed. He metamorphosed brutes into men; and in some measure triumphed over superstition, the strong and almost impregnable hold of ignorance. I must own I never consider this so recent and so wondrous an event, without being hurried away by an enthusiasm I cannot avoid feeling, and from which I now return, to give some imperfect description of the festivities at which I had the honour of being present during my stay here.

I accompanied Sir Robert Gunning on the 9th of July, to the palace of Peterhoff, where the empress then resided. It was the anniversary of her accession, when there is generally a very brilliant court. As we arrived early, I had an opportunity of viewing the gardens before her majesty's appearance. They are very extensive, lying along the shore of the gulph of Finland, and washed by its waters. In the midst of them stands the palace itself, situate on an eminence, and commanding a fine view. It was begun by Peter I but has been enlarged and improved by his successors. In the front is a canal of some hundred yards in length which joins the gulph, and from which three *jets d'eau* are supplied, which play constantly throughout the year. The apartments are all very splendid; but my attention was chiefly engaged by the drawing room, where hung five matchless portraits of the sovereigns of Russia. They are all full length pieces. Peter himself is the first, and opposite to him appears the humble Livonian female, whom

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he raised from a cottage to the most unbounded sovereignty. She is drawn by the painter as in middle life; her eyes and hair black, her countenance open, smiling and ingratiating, and her person not exceeding the middle size. The empresses, Anne and Elizabeth, fill their respective places in this apartment; but did not long detain me from a portrait of the reigning sovereign, which is of a singular kind. She is habited in the Russian uniform, booted, and sits astride on a white horse. In her hat is the oaken bough, which she wore at the memorable revolution which placed her on the throne, and which badge was likewise assumed by all her adherents. Her long hair floats in disorder down her back; and the flushing in her face, the natural effect of the heat and fatigue she had undergone, is finely expressed.

While my eyes were rivetted to this picture, and my thoughts employed on the melancholy catastrophe of the unhappy emperor which so soon followed, the empress's entrance was announced. She was preceded by a long train of lords and gentlemen.

I felt a pleasure corrected with awe as I gazed on this extraordinary woman, whose vigour and policy, without any right of blood, has seated and maintains her on the throne of the czars. Though she is now become rather corpulent, there is a dignity tempered with graciousness in her deportment and manner, which strikingly impresses. She was habited in a deep blue silk with gold stripes, and her hair ornamented with diamonds. After the foreign ministers had paid her the customary compliments on this anniversary, I had the honour to be presented, and to kiss her hand.

The grand duke and duchess of Russia followed the empress, who continued scarce a minute in the circle, but sat down at the card table.

I followed the crowd to the other end of the apartment, where a sovereign of a different kind, and perhaps not less despotic or unlimited in her native empire, had drawn another circle of votaries by the magic of her voice; and received a homage from her personal accomplishments, perhaps more flattering than that paid to greatness, because more the offering of the heart. This was no other than Gabrieli, the singer: she had just begun an air as I came up, and I listened in deep attention while it lasted. When she had finished, Count Rzewusky, a young Polish nobleman, came up to me, and asked me if I wished to be introduced to her. I assured him, he could not confer a greater obligation on me. She rose up with great politeness on the count's introducing me to her as an English gentleman who was lately arrived; and I did not lose the opportunity to enter into a conversation with her.

She was perfectly free and unreserved in her replies, to a number of little questions which I put to her. She said, that though accustomed to the warmer climates of Italy and Sicily, her constitution was not impaired or injured by the severity of that of Russia; that the empress was a bounteous mistress, and she had no reason to be dissatisfied with her present situation; but that, notwithstanding, she had a passionate desire to visit England, a journey she had been many times on the point of executing, but had never yet accomplished. I assured her how happy the English nation would be to see among them a woman of such pre-eminent merit, and how generous their patronage

patronage was to all the performers in the fine arts.

Our conversation was most agreeably interrupted, by her standing up to sing. I must own I never heard any voice so perfectly sweet, melting, and absolute in its command over the soul: nor can any thing exceed the negligent carelessness, apparent in her whole manner, while employed in this occupation, as if she despised the appearance of exertion or any labour to please.

She was at Milan when the empress engaged her to sing in her court. The price she demanded was seven thousand roubles (or about one thousand five hundred pound sterling) a year, besides a house and carriage; nor would she relax the least article of these conditions. They remonstrated with her on the unreasonableness of so enormous a salary, and to induce her to diminish it, informed her that a field marshal had no more. "If that be the case," said she, "I would advise her majesty to make one of her marshals sing." Her person, strictly considered in itself, is by no means irresistible; she does not exceed, if she reaches, the middle size; her features are small, and her eyes blue; but her neck is exquisitely white. Though her salary is so ample, it is only on peculiar occasions and great festivals that she usually sings.

The court broke up between eight and nine o'clock in the evening, and I returned to Peterburgh; though I went down to Peterhoff the following day, when there were a masquerade and illuminations in the gardens. The former of these was rather a *bal paré en domino*, as there were very few or no fancy dresses, nor was any character supported. Every person, without distinction,



is admitted on this occasion, and there were not less than four or five thousand persons present. Her majesty was dressed in a blue domino, and played at cards most of the night.

The illuminations in the gardens far surpassed any I ever saw in my life. Two prodigious arcades of fire extended in front of the palace: the canal, which reaches to the Gulph of Finland, was illuminated on both sides, and the view terminated by a rock, lighted in the inside, and which had a beautiful effect. From either side of the canal branched off long arched walks, illuminated; and beyond these, in the woods, were hung festoons of lamps differently coloured. All the jets d'eaux played. Artificial cascades, where the water tumbled from one declivity to another, and under each of which lights were very artfully disposed, amused and surprised the spectator at the same time. Besides these, there were summer-houses, pyramids, and temples of flame; and beyond all appeared the imperial yachts on the water, in the same brilliant and dazzling ornaments.

Nothing could be better calculated to produce that giddy and tumultuous feeling of mingled wonder and delight, which, though it arises neither from the understanding nor the heart, has yet a most powerful influence over both. The senses are so much captivated with the powers of music, dancing, and wanton hours, together with the presence of a multitude of both sexes, habited in a dress which intentionally levels all distinction, that a heart must be uncommonly misanthropical or unfeeling, which does not catch some spark of mirth and gallantry at such an altar. This impression, however, as it is violent, and produc-

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ed from temporary causes, soon subsides, and expires with the oil and the taper which gave it birth.

There is so little obscurity at this season of the year, for there is no darkness, that if the night had not been very opportunely cloudy, the illuminations could not have produced their full effect. This favourable circumstance, however, superadded to the black vapour which rose from such a multitude of lamps, and hung over the gardens, caused a degree of gloom, which, under the shelter of the woods, approached nearly to darkness from eleven till one in the morning; but before three, the envious day-light burst in upon the splendor of this dazzling scene, which required the canopy of night to give it any lustre. The lamps were expiring on every side; the company began to disperse; each moment diminished the magic which had charmed erewhile, and the fugitive enchantment was passed. It was eight o'clock when I arrived in town, and the sun began to grow already very warm. I threw myself on the bed, quite spent with the pursuit of pleasure, and glad to retire to silence and rest. Magnificent as this illumination was, I was assured that it had been surpassed on some very particular occasions.

There is not only a grandeur and regal pomp in this court, which far exceeds any I have beheld elsewhere, but every thing is on a vast and colossal scale, resembling that of the empire itself. The public buildings, churches, monasteries, and private palaces of the nobility, are of an immense size, and seem as if designed for creatures of a superior height and dimensions to man.

At Moscow, I was told, this magnificent style is yet more common and more universal. The

palace which the present empress has begun, is designed to be two or three English miles in circumference: and in the mean time they have erected a temporary one of brick, for her reception. The city itself is an immense collection of villages, and the Muscovite lords commonly go fifty and sixty versts, which are at least forty of our miles, to make visits to each other. There is a sort of savage and barbarous grandeur in this taste, which never appears in the edifices and productions of Grecian sculpture or architecture; but this may arise from the different extent of the two countries, as well as the genius of the people.

As the festivities were now finished at court, I had time to visit the principal objects of curiosity and entertainment in the city. My original intention of going to Moscow, I at length, though very reluctantly, laid aside, on account of the advancement of the season; it being too long and disagreeable a journey to undertake by land, through Livonia, Courland, Prussia, and Germany, after the 1st of September, when the autumnal rains make the roads in some of these countries almost impassable. The weather was now insufferably hot, and far exceeded that which is ever experienced in England; but this was of short duration.

The veneration of the Russians for their hero and legislator, Peter, approaches, as may naturally be imagined, to idolatry, and increases as they recede from the time in which he personally flourished. The impartial and discerning few, however, who can divest themselves of prejudice, and view objects free from the blaze, which usually dazzles and deludes the multitude, have regarded his character and conduct with different eyes, and

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even made those actions, on which his fame is built, the subject of criticism, if not of censure. Fifty years, which have now nearly elapsed since his death, have withdrawn the veil in some degree from the political sanctuary; and experience of the beneficial or pernicious nature of his regulations, has affixed to them the stamp of excellence or error. So imperfect and short-sighted is man, so limited the sphere of human foresight, that those causes which seem at a first view replete with blessings, often contain a latent poison, which, when matured by time, can destroy these expected consequences, and force us to condemn, on a retrospect, that which we at first applauded.

There are only three grand points of light in which we can regard Peter: as the civilizer, the sovereign, and the law-giver of his country: and there are persons who assert, that he only succeeded partially even in the first of these, to the completion of which he sacrificed the other two; or else he evidently mistook them. This may surprise those, who have been taught to regard Peter as one of the most perfect of sovereigns—one of the most illustrious he certainly was. But he had his vices as well as his virtues; and many of his labours, in which the lives of thousands of his subjects were lost, might well have been either saved, or more advantageously applied in another direction.

This is now universally allowed by the reflecting; yet with all the abatements that can justly be made from the character of Peter, he still will descend to admiring posterity with distinguished applause.

One of the noblest monuments of the gratitude and veneration universally paid to Peter I. is that

which her present majesty has ordered to be erected. It is an equestrian statue, and has been some years under the hands of Monsieur Falconette. I was introduced to this great statuary, and had the pleasure to see the model, which is already completed. In this production he has united the greatest simplicity with the truest sublimity of conception. No other statue, whether ancient or modern, gave him the design, which is singular in it's kind, and is admirably adapted to express the character of the man, and the nation over which he reigned. Instead of a pedestal adorned with inscriptions, or surrounded by slaves, he appears mounted on a rock or stone of a prodigious size, up the ascent of which the horse labours, and appears to have nearly reached its summit. This attitude has given him room to exert great anatomical beauty and skill in the muscles of the horse's hind thighs and hams, on which the whole weight of his body is necessarily sustained. The czar's figure is full of fire and spirit: he sits on a bear's skin, and is clad in a simple habit not characteristic of any particular country, but such as may be worn, without violation of propriety, by an inhabitant of any. His eye is directed to some apparently distant object, designed to be the citadel, and on his features are most strongly impressed the sentiment of "deliberation and public care:" his left hand holds the bridle, and his right is extended, as the artist himself expressed it, *en pere & en maitre*—'like a father and sovereign.' Under the figure on the rock is this inscription: PETRO PRIMO, CATHERINA SECUNDA POSUIT, 177 .

Every thing is now in preparation to cast the statue itself, which will, when finished, be perhaps

haps incontestibly the most matchless production of its kind in Europe\*. Apart from his genius, as an artist, Falconette is a man of uncommon talents, erudition, and expansion of sentiment: he is a citizen of the world, and totally unfettered by the little mean distinctions of climate or of country, which diminish the benevolence of the heart, and set bounds to philanthropy. He is, however, said to possess, in a high degree, that *sovereignty*, as Pope expressed it, that impatience of unmerited censure and little peevishness, which men of fine parts often discover, on account of the erroneous judgment which the multitude form of their abilities and execution. He paid many fine encomiums to the merit of our present painters in England, particularly to Sir Joshua Reynolds, with whom, he said, he maintained a constant correspondence, and interchange of their respective compositions. "Count Hugolino in the dungeon," hung over his chimney-piece, which, he said, the Chevalier Reynolds had lately presented him, and the exquisite expression of which, he could not behold without mingled terror and admiration. I received peculiar pleasure from the acquaintance of this gentleman, which he permitted me to cultivate during my stay here, and from which I derived no less honour than instruction. As he has past the middle stage of life, and has been a resident in St. Petersburg near eight years, I could not help asking him, at one of our interviews, whether he had not any design to return to France, his native

\* Mr. Wraxall's original ideas of this statue have been fully answered; it is worthy of the artist; of the hero for whom it was designed; and of the munificence of the empress, who caused it to be erected.

country, particularly when a young prince, who seemed to open his reign with great applause, might employ him in some work ornamental to his kingdom? "Alas! Sir," said he, "I have lived long enough to know, that every monarch, more especially a youthful one, begins his career with honour and approbation, though time usually crops these early and immature trophies\*. For me, I have nothing, when I revisit my native land, to ask from it, besides a few feet of earth to inter my remains, and that it cannot refuse me."

I have often observed, that all men of superior talents hold the same language, and, when the tumultuous season of life is over, in which ambition or hope may have tendered them ideal blessings, and deluded their sober judgments, they have not any other wish, than humble sequestration.

Petersburgh is as yet only an immense outline, which will require future sovereigns, and almost future ages, to complete. It stands at present on a prodigious extent of ground; but as the houses in many parts are not contiguous, and great spaces are left unbuilt, it is hard to ascertain its real size and magnitude. Devotion has not been wanting to erect magnificent places of worship in almost every part. Curiosity and novelty carried me to all of them. The external architecture differs very little in any: the Greeks seem as fond of domes to their churches, as the Mahometans are of minarets to their mosques. They usually encircle one large with four smaller cupolas, and cover them with copper gilt, which has a

\* There seems something prophetic in this sentiment, as applied to the amiable, but unfortunate Louis XVI.

fine effect to the eye, when illuminated by the rays of the sun. The ornaments within are costly and barbarous; a Mexican temple can hardly be more so. They surround a daubing of the Virgin and Jesus, with gold or silver head dresses, and sometimes complete habits, and only leave exposed the fingers, which the multitude very devoutly kiss. Some of these strange compound figures of paint and metal are very laughable, and the poor Madonna seems like a prisoner in golden fetters.

The papas, or priests, are dressed in vestments which very much resemble the Romish, and are generally composed of tissue and expensive silks. The manner in which they perform the service rather reminds one of an incantation, than of a prayer offered to the Deity; and they repeat great part of it so intolerably fast, that one is tempted to suppose it impossible the auditory can understand one word the priest utters, let their attention be ever so strong. St. Nicholas still holds his rank and veneration in the Russian calendar, and has almost as many altars as the Virgin herself.

In the church of the citadel repose the body of Peter I. and the successive sovereigns since his death, who are ranged in coffers side by side, but have not any of them marble monuments erected to their memories; nor is there any other motive to induce a traveller to enter this church, except the consciousness that he beholds the wood which contains the ashes of Peter, and that mingled sentiment of reverence and pleasure which the mind may experience from such a contemplation. Only one monarch is excluded, as if unworthy to be entombed with his progenitors and predecessors



fors on the throne of Russia. This is the late unhappy Peter III. who, after his death, was exposed during some days in the monastery of St. Alexander Newfskoi, a few miles out of town, to convince the people that he had not suffered any violence, but ended his life naturally: he was afterwards privately interred there\*.

As I have mentioned his name, I am led to make a few remarks on his life and character. Though under the present reign it may be imagined, that few persons either dare or chuse to speak their sentiments freely in this respect, yet I am induced to believe, from universal testimony, that he was very unworthy and unfit to reign, and that whatever private condemnation the empress, as his wife, may undergo, it was a most salutary and requisite policy for Russia to depose him. He brought to St. Peterburgh all the illiberal and pernicious prejudices of a German; he avowed his open contempt for their religion, their manners, their laws; he had personally ill-treated and injured his wife, and alienated by his imprudence and folly a great majority of his subjects and courtiers.

The vigour and celebrity with which the empress acted in effecting the revolution, could only be exceeded by the pusillanimity and meanness with which Peter resigned the crown. He was himself, on the day which preceded this event, at the palace of Oranienbaum, and totally unprepared for such a change, of which he entertained no suspicion. She departed from Peterhoff, where she then was, by a postern door in the gardens, very

\* The remains have lately been gathered to those of his predecessors, by the filial regard of the Emperor Paul I.

early in the morning, under the conduct of Prince Orloff, and reached Petersburg before her absence was known. She instantly took possession of the palace without difficulty or opposition, and putting herself in an uniform at the head of the guards, marched towards Peterhoff.

As soon as the emperor received this intelligence, he embarked immediately from Oranienbaum, in one of the imperial yachts, in hopes to reach Cronstadt, which is nearly opposite, and in the fortress of which he would have been secure. Here, however, he was disappointed, as the empress had already anticipated his intention, and dispatched two admirals, who secured it. When he came near the fortress, they ordered him to keep off, or they would sink him, and at the same time pointed the guns for that purpose, though it afterwards appeared they were not loaded. Besides his mistress, the Countess of Voronzoff, he had a number of women and attendants in the vessel with him. Terrified with the appearance of opposition, they knelt around him, and rent the air with their cries, to induce him to relinquish his purpose. Yielding to his own fears, and their importunities, he had not the courage to attempt to land, but returned back to Oranienbaum. The old Felt-Mareschal Count Munich, who had been newly recalled from his long exile in Siberia, was with him at this critical emergency, and gave him the only advice which could possibly have saved him. He implored him to go boldly and meet the empress, to charge the guards on their allegiance to obey his orders as their sovereign, and offered to lose his own life in his defence. Peter either had not sufficient magnanimity and greatness of mind,

to perceive the absolute necessity of this conduct, or to embrace it instantly. On the contrary, giving way to his terrors, he threw himself on the ground before the empress, in the gardens of Oranienbaum, and covering his face with both his hands, burst into all the impotence of tears, and only implored, in terms of the most abject submission, that his life might be spared, and his paternal dominions of Holstein assigned him.

She commanded him to rise, and conducted him to the palace of Peterhoff, where he signed a paper, by which he abdicated his power, and conferred it on her. Meanwhile covered wagons were provided, which took different roads, that it might not be known in which was the deposed prince; and this mighty revolution, which transferred the greatest empire on earth, was effected in a few hours, almost without any confusion or uproar. The people, accustomed to despotism, and almost indifferent who was the ruler, remained silent and quiet spectators of it; the guards being the only actors, and the whole a repetition of the princess Elizabeth's conduct some years before, when young Ivan was deposed, and she seized the throne.

Over the rest of this mournful story charity must draw a veil. Such a prisoner it is natural to suppose could not long remain in that condition. On the ninth day, subsequent to his seizure, it was reported he had a disorder in his bowels, and soon after his death was announced. We know no more. History, in some future period, may possibly elucidate the circumstances of his end. That it was tragical cannot be doubted\*.

\* The late king of Sweden, in no ambiguous terms, has recorded the death of Peter III.

The public buildings of different kinds are so prodigiously numerous in this city, that I am inclined to believe they constitute a fifth or sixth part of the whole capital. Some of them are of stone, but the larger part are only brick, or wood plaistered. The winter-palace is composed of the former materials, and was erected by the late empress Elizabeth: it is very large and heavy, in the style of its architecture. The situation is very lovely, on the banks of the Neva, and in the centre of the town. Contiguous to it is a small palace, built by the present empress, and called, though not very appropriately, The Hermitage. It no more resembles our idea of a hermitage than it does a temple; but when her majesty resides in this part of the building she is in retreat, and there is no drawing-room or court. I was admitted to see these apartments, which are very elegant, and furnished with great taste. There are two galleries of paintings, which have been lately purchased at an immense expence in Italy. The crown, which I saw in the palace itself, is perhaps the richest in Europe. It is shaped like a bonnet, and totally covered with diamonds. In the sceptre is the celebrated one, purchased by Prince Orloff for five hundred thousand rubles \*, and presented by him to his sovereign mistress only a few months ago. It far exceeds Pitt's diamond in size; and is reckoned not inferior in water. Lapidaries declare it the most beautiful and rare jewel ever brought from Golconda.

There are two academies here, one of arts and the other of sciences, both of which I repeatedly visited. The present empress has founded the

\* A coin value about four shillings and sixpence English.

first, which will be, when finished, a superb edifice: it is furnished with masters in the different branches of polite letters, and filled with casts from the most celebrated models of Greek and Roman sculpture. I do not, however, find that as yet any eminent geniusses have appeared, though they have not been quite destitute of artists. Nature indeed seems to have confined perfection in these elegant and exquisite productions, to certain climates and people, among whom they have sprung spontaneous for centuries; and which are only imperfectly copied where the seeds of taste are not so happily scattered, or the organs so justly adapted to receive them.

I was more charmed with the river Neva itself, than with any other object here. The Thames is not comparable to it in beauty; and as the stream sets constantly out of the Lake Ladoga into the Gulph of Finland, it is always full, clear, and perfectly clean. Along its banks is unquestionably the finest walk in the world. It is not a quay, as vessels never ascend to this part, but a parade, running to a vast length; the buildings on which are hardly to be exceeded in elegance. Over the river, in the narrowest part, is a bridge on pontoons. From this noble river, canals are cut to all parts of the city; nor could any situation be more favourable to the genius of commerce, if the inclemency of the climate did not keep it frozen up at least five months annually.

As this place is the formation of late years, it is laid out with great regularity: there is not any thing which looks old, though much is still imperfect and unfinished. The buildings have throughout a very handsome appearance, and are, like every thing else, on a colossal scale. The  
streets

streets are mostly paved; but in several places this is done with timber: a practice still more prevalent in Moscow, where, in the frequent fires they used to have, the street itself caught the flames, and the conflagration became terrible, as the houses likewise are mostly of wood.

The police of Peterburgh is very good, and one may walk with great safety at any hour. Now and then a murder happens; but this is by no means frequent.

In the summer season, when the court are out of town, there are scarcely any public spectacles, except at the imperial palace, where a Russian and French comedy are performed generally once a week. The seats are adjusted by rank, and no money is paid for entrance, as it is the empress's own amusement; and limited to people of condition. For my own part, I found a much superior entertainment in walking every evening, till eleven or midnight, on the banks of the Neva, or in the Summer Gardens, which likewise belong to the crown, and are always open to the people. They are situated at one end of the walk I mentioned, and are full of statues, jets d'eau, and fountains elegantly disposed.

The aboriginal Russians, whose habits have not been refined by a commerce with other nations, evidently partake much more of Asiatic than of European manners: the men among the lower class universally wear the beard, in defiance of all the rigorous edicts issued by Peter I. to abolish this barbarous custom. The women in general only bind their heads with pieces of silk or linen, very nearly resembling in appearance the eastern turban, but accommodate the other parts of their dress pretty nearly to ours. Many of them, how-

ever, are to be seen in the old Muscovite habits of the different provinces, which are curious and grotesque in the highest degree. In some the head-dress projects six or eight inches from the forehead, and is enriched with pearls; in others it is a sort of bonnet laced, and fitting close round the head; nor is the rest of their attire less singular.

One of their customs, at which I was a spectator, not a little surprised me. It was a promiscuous bathing of not less than two hundred persons of both sexes. There are several of these public bagnios in Petersburg, and every one pays a few copiques (value a halfpenny English each) for admittance. There are, indeed, separate spaces for the men and women; but they seem quite regardless of this distinction, and sit or bathe in a state of absolute nudity among each other. What is equally extraordinary, they go first into a room heated to so intense a degree, that it is scarcely possible to breathe in it; and after having remained there till their bodies are in the most violent perspiration, they instantly either plunge into the cold water of the Neva, or else throw a quantity of it over them from little buckets, with which they are all provided for that purpose. This may only harden a Russian constitution, but, I believe, would be found often fatal to an English one. The greater part of the women were the most hideous figures I ever beheld, and reminded me of Horace's Canidia, for whom they were very proper companions. I counted half a dozen young girls who appeared tolerably pretty, and they never could have been viewed to more advantage than near such foils.

A studier of nature, I confess this is as proper a  
School

school as can be imagined, since fancy can hardly figure an attitude which may not be found here; but as a voluptuary, a single visit is more than sufficient.

I cannot say much in praise of the charms which the ladies discover; indeed, I am told, the style of loveliness here is not a little different from ours, and that, to possess any pre-eminent degree of it, a woman must weigh at least two hundred weight. Prior's criterion will not do here, and they would laugh at his "Fine by degrees, and beautifully less," as a false and vitiated taste. The late empress Elizabeth was one of these ponderous and massy beauties; and such she appears in the portraits I have seen of her.

The climate prodigiously altered within the week following the middle of July. All the violence of the heat was past, and expected to return no more for the season. They have no fruits here, except strawberries and raspberries: wall-fruit is almost unknown, and must necessarily be so in such a climate. They have, however, as I am assured, excellent melons, pomegranates, and pines, brought to Petersburg from Astracan in twenty-one days, which is not a less distance than fifteen hundred miles, across all Muscovy\*. Indeed, when one reflects on the immense magnitude of this empire, one is lost in the idea. They count five thousand miles from hence to Kamtschatka, the eastern but uncertain termination of their dominion; and north, it runs "to Greenland, Zembla, or the Lord knows where." In this are reckoned, I think, six separate king-

\* See Hanway's Travels through Persia, Vol. XIII.



s, the distinct crowns of which are all to be at Moscow. The soil, climate, and produce, be infinitely different in so extensive a domain. The Ukraine is represented to be one of the most fertile and delicious provinces of the empire, and the most desirable of any in the Russian empire. The country round this capital is a morass grown with birch and fir, nor is there a hill in several miles. The houses of Peterburgh all built on piles, as those of Amsterdam, which often strikingly remind one of Holland. Among the public institutions, I was carried to one, which can hardly be exceeded in utility by any in Europe, and is worthy of the pre-empress, who may be deemed its foundress. Elizabeth, her predecessor, erected it, and designed it a nunnery. It stands just out of town, and is a princely and magnificent building, though every thing else, not yet completed. Her pre-majesty, who has preferred wisdom to super-erogation, converted it into a public place of education, where young women of all conditions are completely instructed in every necessary and elegant accomplishment, at the sole expence of the crown. Those of noble families are kept quite distinct from the inferior children. Upwards of two hundred and thirty of the former, and double the number of the latter, are provided for in this admirable seminary.

Some branches of the police appeared to me singular, though I must allow they are productive salutary consequences. I was a little indisposed soon after my arrival, and sent my servant to chase some magnesia in the shops. He brought word that no apothecary would sell him any ;  
and

and that three or four of them had assured him they dared not part with a dram, if a hundred ducats were offered for it, unless a regular prescription was brought them, signed by a physician, as the punishment is very severe for their violating this regulation. Esculapius could not have made a law more beneficial to the faculty; but it prevents empirics from destroying numbers, as they do with impunity among us, and renders it very easy to discover poisons, by tracing to its source the vender of them.

Another regulation here, though not without its advantages likewise, is very troublesome. No stranger can quit the capital, to pass the frontiers, without having been first advertised in all the public papers for ten days preceding his departure, though his business or affairs should be ever so urgent. But as Petersburg is not a thoroughfare, this restraint is less felt than otherwise it would be.

I made one or two excursions into the country, particularly to Gatchina, a palace of prince Orloff's, about forty miles off. It is situated in the most eligible spot within a great distance of the metropolis, and will, when finished, be a superb seat. The gardens are laid out in the English taste by a man of great merit, who was sent for, by the prince for that purpose. The nature of the ground, and a fine piece of water near the house, gave him scope for his genius. On my return from hence I saw the royal palace of Zarsko-Zelo: this was built by Elizabeth, and is the completest triumph of a barbarous taste I have seen in these northern kingdoms. The situation is low, and commands hardly any prospect, nor has any natural advantages to claim  
such

such a preference. It is very large, and the front extends to a great length, as there is only one story besides the ground floors. All the capitals of the pillars, the statues, and many other parts of the external structure are gilt; nor does the eye meet scarce any thing else, in the apartments within. One room is in a very peculiar and uncommon style of magnificence; the sides of it being entirely composed of amber, on which are disposed festoons and other ornaments of the same material. Its transparency, and the consciousness of its rarity have a fine effect. This was a present from the reigning king of Prussia to the late empress. Her present majesty prefers this palace to any of the others; and when there, she is in retreat, as she is in town at the Hermitage.

The grand duke of Russia, and heir apparent to the crown, is just twenty years of age. It is very hard to know what qualities or talents he really possesses, since under this despotic and jealous government, there is scarcely any material power vested in the second, more than the hundredth person in the empire. He has not hitherto exhibited any shining parts, or peculiar traits of character. Those who know him, say, he is amiable, affable, and well disposed:—but how general and uncertain are these strokes; and how little may we, perhaps, recognise them in the future emperor, Paul I.? He has been married about eleven months. The grand duchess, who is a German princess, of the house of Hesse-Darmstadt, is plain in her person; but yet has a somewhat about the lineaments of her countenance and whole demeanor, which, if I were inclined to judge from physiognomy, would give me

me a very favourable impression of her heart and disposition. This, I am assured, she well merits, and that the duke is extremely attached to her.

The celebrated globe of Tycho Brahe, which Peter I. procured from Frederic IV. in Denmark, exists no more: it was consumed by an accidental fire in 1747. I saw the new one lately constructed on the same model, but somewhat inferior in size. The exact dimensions of the first I am unacquainted with. The present globe is eleven feet in diameter, from pole to pole, and in the inside is a table, with seats round it, capable of admitting twelve persons. On the internal concave globe, are all the celestial signs and constellations; the stars being marked, according to their different magnitudes, by silver studs radiated. The external globe is painted with the various countries of the earth; but this part is not yet completed. A circular building has been erected in the midst of an open spot, and detached from any other house, for the reception and preservation of this noble astronomical machine, which is, I apprehend, the largest of its kind in Europe.

Of the genius, manners, and real character of the Muscovites, I neither pretend, nor can possibly know much from the short stay I made here. I only saw the residence of the court, not the ancient capital of the empire. Had I obeyed the impulse of my own inclinations, I should not have contented myself with this partial and imperfect view: on the contrary, my wishes would not even have been gratified by a sight of Moscow itself; I should have continued my route from thence to Casan and Astracan; nor stopped even  
these,

there, unless from an incapacity of passing by the Caspian sea, and intermediate provinces of the Ottoman dominion, to Constantinople. They smiled and gave me a look of incredulity mingled with surprise, when I assured them, it is my intention, if unfurmountable obstacles do not prevent me, to return here and attempt this tour; little knowing that danger and fatigue have no terrors for me, when knowledge is the reward of my endeavours. I am conscious this sentiment is not to be transfused, nor perhaps in general believed. That passionate enthusiasm, that insatiable avidity, that divine and indiscrible delight which I experience while engaged in this occupation, I attempt in vain, by language and description, to kindle in other bosoms, where nature has not given a similarity of feeling.

I must confess that I found much entertainment, mingled with that improvement which opens and expands the mind, in this short residence here; neither Copenhagen nor Stockholm contain so much to attract the notice of a traveller, particularly when it is remembered, that those cities have probably reached their meridian, and that every month adds to the beauty and magnificence of this new-born metropolis, which will be long before it reaches its acmé.

Intending to travel through Ingria, formerly wrested from Sweden, about six o'clock on the morning of the 28th of July, I quitted St. Peterburgh, where several little accidents had concurred to detain me some days longer than I intended. The whole intermediate country from thence to the gates of Narva is a vast plain, level, open, and covered in many parts with harvests, which the peasants are already reaping. My intention

attention was only to have staid in Narva a few hours, but the pressing instances of two or three very hospitable gentlemen, whom I met with there, induced me to prolong it. After dinner, on the 29th, they carried me out of town, to shew me the celebrated spot on which Charles XII. routed one hundred thousand Muscovites, with his little Swedish troop rather than army, about seventy years ago. The intrenchments of the Russian camp are still distinctly visible, and extend near eighteen English miles along the shore of the Gulph of Finland. Their head quarters were established in a little island situated at the narrowest part of the river, where was a bridge, which, sinking under the crowd of flying Muscovites, destroyed as many as their enemies had done.

Peter most severely revenged the dishonour of his arms on that unfortunate day, when he afterwards took Narva, and transported the wretched inhabitants into the most remote parts of his dominions. They yet shew the bastion where he gave the assault; and it is said, that on his entering the place, and finding the Swedish commandant in his robe de chambre, unapprehensive of such an event, he struck him several times, reproaching him for his remissness to his sovereign's interest, and for having been found in a dress so unworthy of a soldier. This anecdote is perfectly characteristic of Peter.

A gentleman of condition, with whom I formed a sort of intimacy during my little stay, and who is equally a man of letters and urbanity, related to me an anecdote respecting his own family, which is both singular and interesting. I give it nearly in his own words. "My mother,"

said he, " and her elder sister, became captives to the czar, when this city was taken. They were sold as such to the Russians, and carried by them into the interior parts of the empire, south of Moscov. Fortune had not even allied them in this state of exile; nor did the one know to what master the other belonged. In this situation, as a slave, my mother remained two years; at the end of which time she discovered her elder sister, whose fate had been much more propitious: a boyard, or noble, captivated with her person, married her, and had raised her to a state of affluence and power. This she immediately employed to rescue her sister, and under her protection my mother remained, till the intercession of the empress Catherine, who was originally a Livonian villager, procured permission to all the banished natives to return, and even the restitution of their houses, effects, and fortunes. This edict induced my mother to quit the asylum she had found in Russia, and she returned again to Narva. I need not remind you, that the great prince Menzikoff, whose genius and merit raised him from the station of a pastry-cook's boy, to the highest employments under Peter I. was afterwards banished to Siberia, and all his estates confiscated. The boyard, who had married my aunt, was one of his immediate dependants, and had the superintendence of his lands: he was involved in the ruin of the prince, and reduced to a state of poverty and distress. His wife fled immediately to her younger sister for refuge, who had now an opportunity to return the benefits she had formerly received, and to extend that protection she once had wanted. My aunt is dead; but my mother is alive at this present

1

time,

time, from whose mouth I have a thousand times heard the story of her fortune.

"There are," continued he, "many old persons yet alive, who remember the battle of Narva, and among others is a man, whose life was preserved by a most uncommon circumstance. He was an infant at the breast, and only about a twelvemonth old. Some Muscovite soldiers with a merciless barbarity tore him from the nurse's arms, and dashing him against a wall left him bleeding, and, as they apprehended, dead; the woman, however, attached to the child, returned, and, by her care recovered him; and he too is still alive."

I spent the greater part of the 30th at the mouth of the river, which is about eight miles from Narva. It was beautiful weather, and tempted us to sail out upon the Gulph of Finland. Ships of considerable burden lie in the road, there being very little water on the bar, though the river itself is deep quite up to the town. It empties itself into the great Peipus Lake, about forty miles south of Narva. On the other side of this lake is situate the city of Pleskow in Muscovy. Opposite the town, is a large suburb with an ancient fortress called Ivanogorod, built by the czar, John Basiliwitz, who was a cotemporary of our Elizabeth, and made a treaty of commerce with the English, under her reign. These were the frontier towns of the Swedish and Russian territory for a long series of years, the river forming the boundary, till the enterprising Peter enlarged the ancient limits of his dominions.

I had the pleasure to dine in company with four ladies, at this place, who were habited in the Livonian dress. Nothing could more aptly



realize that barbarous splendor which has been so frequently depicted, but is now so rarely to be seen in any parts of Europe. It was expensive, and might have been worn by persons of the first eminence, without degradation of their rank. Their heads were covered with a complete bonnet of pearls, which were not worth less than two thousand rubles; and round their necks were several strings of the same. A part of their necks was left exposed; but the lower part was concealed by a vest of red silk, which sat close to the breast, and was bordered with a gold lace of a vast breadth, which descended to their feet. Their arms had no other covering than the sleeves of their shifts; and when they walked out, they threw over their heads and shoulders a piece of silk resembling a Highland plaid, and which was a sort of substitute for our capuchin. I ought to mention, that one of these four ladies had been married six months, though she was then only twelve years and a half old; nor is this an uncommon or unprecedented thing: a proof of the early maturity to which women arrive in northern climates.

Next day I went to dine at a gentleman's seat, about a mile out of town, close to the fall on the river.

It is a beautiful walk, along the banks of the river above Narva, to the falls. There are two, a small island dividing the stream just at the place; I only saw one of them, the eye not taking in both at once, as on the Dahl in Sweden. If I had never seen these last-named cataraets, those of Narva would have pleased me more, as they are in no respect to be placed in competition with them. The breadth is, indeed, greater; but

but the fall is only eighteen or nineteen feet. Yet even here, the roar of the water, when quite close, the mist flying up over it, and the surrounding objects, which are very picturesque, affect the mind with a pleasing astonishment, and detain the spectator in a voluntary bondage.

It was six in the evening before I returned to the town and pursued my journey. The first stage lies entirely over the plains which the Muscovites occupied on the famous day when young Charles defeated them. From thence the road turns in-land, and on the evening of the first of August, I found myself on the sands at the edge of the Peipus Lake, along whose borders I drove for several miles. Night closed in as I reached Ninal, a little village washed by its waves, and very delightfully situated. From hence I had only between forty and fifty miles to Derpt, where I got next morning to breakfast. This place, which is rather a large, straggling, ill-built village, than a town, was formerly, when Livonia belonged to Sweden, of considerable importance, having been fortified, and a frontier garrison on the side of Muscovy. It is situated in the most fertile and beautiful part of the province, on a small river, which communicates with the Peipus Lake, and surrounded with harvests, which at this season of the year were waving in all the pride of plenty. Just above the town, on an eminence, from whence the eye commands all this vale, stand the ruins of an abbey or cathedral, which the Russians are employed in totally demolishing. Its situation, which is very eligible in a military light, has induced them to commit this outrage on the venerable remains of piety and magnificence, which the building exhibits. Pos-

terity will see the standard wave where the crucifix has stood, and the matin bell will be succeeded by the trumpet. He who reveres antiquity cannot but deplore this change, and regret the havoc which war, under every shape, is continually making on the productions of elegance and art.

I pursued my route, in the afternoon, through one of the most fertile plains which can be conceived: this beautiful vale terminated about forty miles from Derpt. As evening drew on, I entered a thick wood of fir and birch trees, where the sand was almost up to the axle-tree of the chaise; the night was extremely dark, and it rained and blew very hard. It was one o'clock in the morning when I arrived at the post-house, which is in the midst of the wood; and as I was determined to wait the return of day, I lay down in my clothes, and fell presently fast asleep.

The same groves continued almost the whole ensuing day. In the evening I reached Wolmar, a little town which was formerly fortified, and where are yet the walls of a castle constructed by the Swedes. From hence I had only about eighty miles to the city of Riga; but it was the morning of the 5th when I got there, and terminated my journey across Livonia. The distance from Narva exceeds three hundred English miles.

My stay in Riga was rather regulated by caprice, than strictly proportioned to the number of objects it presents, either to elegant amusement or instruction. It would be hard to have found a spot more destitute of any natural beauties or advantages to induce an adventurer to fix in, than is that where Riga stands. Deep, barren sands

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invest it round on every side, and a traveller who regulated his ideas of the province by that part of it he saw here, would accuse those authors of gross imposition, who have called Livonia the granary of the north. It was commerce which evidently gave birth to the place, and the genius of which still protects and enriches it. The river Duna is an inexhaustible source of plenty, and amply makes amends for every other deficiency. It runs a vast length into the interior parts of Poland, and conveys down all the articles of trade exported from hence. Timber is one of the chief; and I was assured, that many of the largest trees did not arrive in Riga within two years, being cut near Bender on the banks of the Neister, from whence they are drawn over the snows in winter, to the Duna, and brought down the ensuing season. In May and June the Poles usually arrive, and return again before the end of July.

The bridge over the river, is one of the most singular and surprising in Europe: it is nine hundred paces long, and far exceeds in length that at Rouen, or any I ever saw. It consists of traverse beams of timber, joined together, and rises or falls with the tide. In spring, as soon as the Duna is quite free from ice, they build it, and it is removed before the frost sets in, which happens commonly in November. It is only about nine or ten English miles to the mouth of the river, where it empties itself into the Baltic; and on the southern side, three miles below the town, is the place where Charles XII. routed the Saxons, as he had first done the Russians before Narva. A high bank of sand is now collected, and possesses the ground where the action happened, under

der which are still frequently found skulls and human bones.

The city of Riga itself, is a most disagreeable one; it is extremely crowded, and surrounded by fortifications which prevent a possibility of its being altered or amended in this respect. The houses are all high, and the streets very narrow, very ill-paved, and very dirty. The suburbs are as large as the place itself, and are chiefly possessed by Russians, the municipal privileges excluding them from the capacity of exercising any trade within its walls. There are about eight thousand inhabitants in the city, and as many more in the Fauxbourgs. The commerce must necessarily be prodigious, as in the year 1772, no fewer than one thousand and thirty vessels, from various parts of Europe, entered the port. Its pretences to antiquity are pretty high: it is said, that when the Teutonic Knights, about the year 1300, came to conquer and reform the Pagan inhabitants of the province, they found some merchants from Bremen, who had already settled on the bank of the Duna, and erected Riga, induced by the advantages it offered to commerce.

On the 9th I proceeded to Mittaw, the capital of Courland. It is a very pleasant and agreeable drive of four hours from Riga to that place; the dominions of Russia divide from those of Courland, nearly at the mid-way. At the entrance of the town, I met his highness the duke, who was on horseback with a small train, and had just returned from hunting. Baron Klopman, the marshal of his court, presented me to him the following day. He treated me with great politeness, placed me on his left hand at dinner, the old duchess, his mother, sitting on his right, and did  
me

me the honour to shew me in person the apartments of the palace, and several curiosities he has collected, in the afternoon. Our discourse at table ran on the happy news, just received, of the peace concluded with the Turks, all the articles of which he recounted to me, as he had just received a letter from his sister, the princess of Courland, who is married, and resides at St. Petersburg, on that subject.

His highness expressed, many times, the high esteem he entertained for the English nation: "and as a proof," said he, "of the ancient alliance between us, I have now, among the archives of the dutchy, several treaties of friendship, not only from your kings, but even from the famous protector, Cromwell." He was personally acquainted with the late Lord Baltimore, who spent some days at Mittaw, during his father's reign; and assured me, that he had often intended, and yet hoped to visit England. He was good enough to invite me to one of his country palaces at Ruhendahl, about twenty miles from hence, and situated, as he said, in a lovely part of Courland; but as my time did not permit, I was obliged to decline this honour.

Courland, as well as Livonia, anciently belonged to the Teutonic Knights; but in the year 1461, the grand master of that order became the first duke: he was a nobleman of the name of Ketler, and in his family it continued till they became extinct in the person of Ferdinand. This was the same who fought so gallantly against Charles XII. at the battle of the Duna: he resided at Dantzic, in a kind of exile from his country, and deprived of his natural inheritance. His predecessor, the young Duke Frederic, had been married

married to Anne, daughter of Ivan, elder brother of Peter the Great, and which princess afterwards ascended the Russian throne. He only lived six weeks after his nuptials, being carried off in the bloom of life by a violent fever. His widow retained possession of the government, to the exclusion of Ferdinand, till the death of Peter II. when she was called to the empire by a faction. Though this event obliged her to leave Mittaw, and return to Petersburg, yet her power continued; and on the death of the duke without issue, she placed her favourite Biron in the dutchy, though Count Saxe had been previously elected by the nobility, and endeavoured to make some resistance. This Biron was, for many years, her minister, and possessed the most unbounded power over both his mistress and her subjects. She left him regent at her death, under the infant emperor Ivan; an office which he held only fifteen days, and from the possession of which he was sent into banishment. There he remained till the late empress Elizabeth's death, when Peter III. once more recalled him, and reinstated him in his honours and dominions. During his disgrace, Courland was governed for several years by the four great officers of state, who preside over the different departments, till Prince Charles of Saxony got footing in the dutchy, by the influence of his father the king of Poland, and held it three years, when the change of the sovereign in Russia, obliged him again to evacuate it. The late duke died only two years ago, upwards of eighty years of age, and transmitted the inheritance to his son the reigning prince. The duke is only the first nobleman of state, his power not extending, in any degree, over the other nobility: they

they pay him no taxes or duties of any kind, and are absolute lords on their own estates, having power of life and death over their vassals.

Courland is a fief of Poland, and as such his present highness did homage in his father's name, and his own, to Stanislaus, the reigning king, on his accession at Warsaw. The duchy is sixty-three German miles in length, and twenty-six in breadth; it is exceedingly fertile, particularly in grain, from the duties on which, and his own patrimonial estates, the revenue chiefly arises. This seldom falls short of four hundred thousand dollars\*, and amounts, sometimes to almost double the sum, as the price of grain determines it in a great measure. The duke has five hundred guards, chiefly for parade. He told me that the ancient residence of the dukes of Courland was at Goldingen, a town near sixty English miles from hence, and where are still the ruins of a palace which belonged to them.—The present palace at Mittaw was begun by the late duke before his banishment, and continued on his return. The plan is two magnificent and princely for a sovereign with such limited resources; though, as he maintains neither a military nor naval armament, he is a rich man with economy. Its situation is very agreeable, on a small eminence, just without the town, and washed by the river Aa, which is pretty broad, and winds most delightfully through the meadows which surround it on all sides. The country is mostly flat, finely wooded, and resembles exceedingly some parts of England.—The river is navigable to Riga for

\* A coin, value about three shillings and sixpence English.



small boats; and as there is always a number of these vessels going and returning, the view of the sails apparently moving through the fields, is charmingly picturesque.

The town of Mittaw is not very ancient; a private gentleman of Courland founded it, in the year 1426. It occupies at least as much ground as Riga, but as the streets are more spacious, and the buildings more scattered, it cannot properly be regarded as equal in size; the inhabitants are only between three and four thousand. Most of the houses are of wood, and very mean in their appearance. It is horridly paved, and which is still more singular, the noblesse have opposed and prevented the duke's intention to repair this defect, from motives of caprice and obstinacy. He is obliged to summon a diet, composed entirely of their body, once in two years, which enacts laws and redresses grievances; he presides over, but has little influence or authority in it. This dutchy, indeed, is an exact resemblance of Poland, in miniature; the same political evils exist in both.

The duke is a lover of letters, and has lately founded an academy in Mittaw, for the instruction of the young nobility and persons of condition in the dutchy, at his own expence. This is a very laudable foundation, and does him great honour.

I was so pleased with the environs of this city, as well as with my reception at the ducal court, that I wished, had time permitted, to have prolonged my stay; and to have accompanied the duke in one of his hunting expeditions, in which exercise he is very expert.

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However, being limited by time, I left Mittaw on the 11th of August, about noon, and reached Frawemburg, a little village fifty miles distant, before midnight. Nothing could exceed the beauty of the country through which I passed: wide extended plains, which a week or two before had waved with corn, and on which the sheaves were still standing, impressed the traveller with ideas of plenty and happiness. Nature has been uncommonly bounteous to Courland, and that epithet of the Sicily of the north, usually attributed to Livonia, belongs with more justice to this province; the products of which being anciently all exported from Riga, gave birth to the common mode of expression.

I continued my journey very early in the morning, having taken some repose, more from a desire of not losing any part of the prospects which presented themselves, than from fatigue or want of rest. I was amply repaid for this little delay, by a continuation of the same elegant scenery. I passed through several pleasant woods, composed of oaks, aspens, osiers, larch, and nut trees; and under the shelter of this variegated shade, I dined on some cold provisions I had brought with me, while the servant procured me a dessert of nuts from the boughs over my head, which were laden with them. I stopped again, during the middle of the night, at a little hamlet, where the post-house was situated. As I approached the borders, both the population and the fertility of the soil diminished. I reached the frontier of the dutchy on Saturday morning, and crossing a rivulet, over a wooden bridge, entered Lithuania, an angle of which divides Prussia from Courland. I was stopped at Polangen, a miserable

able town in this province, and had the honour to be searched, at a kind of custom-house, in the name of King Stanislaus. The place itself stands at an inconsiderable distance from the shore of the Baltic, and is remarkable for the quantities of amber collected near it; which forms their only branch of commerce. In the afternoon I got to Memel, the first town in his Prussian majesty's dominions, where I was obliged once more to undergo the ceremony of a search, which was conducted with greater severity than it had been in Poland; most rigorous penalties being annexed to the introduction of any prohibited articles, however small in quantity, into the kingdom. As I intended to make a short stay in Memel, I had provided myself with letters to a principal commercial house: the hospitality I had found at Narva, and the politeness shewn me at Riga, had prepossessed me with a favourable idea of my reception in this place; and I lost not a minute, on my arrival, in preparing myself to wait on the persons to whom my recommendations were addressed. It was near seven in the evening, and had been a very rainy day: I took the opportunity of a short suspension of the storms, and tripped nimbly along the streets, preceded by a girl without shoes or stockings, who was sent to shew me the way. When we came to the house, my ragged conductress opened the street door without ceremony, and running up a pair of stairs, threw open another door into an apartment, where she left me, and retired with as much precipitation as she had entered. I stepped' in. If the desks and bookcases, which surrounded near three sides of this room, had not declared it to be a counting-house, I should most certainly have mistaken it

it for a cock-loft: the cafements were fo completely covered with duft and filth, that no objects were diftinctly vifible through them at any time of the day; but more particularly fo at the hour when I made my appearance. Two black ill-looking figures flarted up at the fame moment, like automatons actuated by fprings, and feemed, by their regards, to demand the caufe of fo abrupt an entrance. I muft own, the manner of my entrance into this ftrange apartment rather difconcerted me: taking, however, my credentials out of my pocket, I prefented them to him who flood next me, with a fhort addrefs to explain the caufe of my intrufion. This produced a low bow from both, and while one perufed the letters, the other defired me to be feated on a ftool, which had once been covered with leather; but time having eaten it all away, the horfe-hair, which compofed the stuffing, fupplied its place. I complied with the invitation, and amused myfelf by looking round me, while the two brothers were engaged with the credentials. "Ift die heer ein Kauffmann?" faid the fecond, fretching out his head with a look of ignorance and curiofity. "Ich weifs nicht," answered the other, faking his in turn. "Gentlemen," faid I, "though I am not fo happy as to fpeak German, I underftand fome-what of the language: the motives which induce me to travel, are thofe of knowledge and improvement; and my ftay here, as in every other place I vifit, is chiefly determined by the objects it prefents of inftruction and liberal entertainment." "We apprehended," answered the firft, "you might be come to our fair, which will begin Monday: if you want any goods, our clerks fhall fhew you the way, and get them for you."

"I am happily," said I, "not in want of any goods, except a few amber toys for presents; and I am told this is the properest place in the world to procure them." "I don't know," replied he; "if, indeed, you want only a few toys, the landlord of the inn where you lodge can supply you as well as any one; but if you would purchase amber in the gross, the town of Polangen, which you came through, was the most eligible place; it belongs to the crown of Poland at this time; but we are in great hopes that our king will, ere long, get hold of it; and then, you know, we shall have all the amber trade in our own hands." Unhappy Stanislaus! thought I; how little do the considerations of equity and honour weigh against those of interest! "The trade of Memel is, notwithstanding," resumed I, "pretty large at this time; is it not?" "Indifferent," said he: "there are only four houses who divide it; we export a great deal of timber, which is brought down the river Ruffe from the interior parts of Lithuania, and conveyed here in boats: we deal too, pretty largely, in hemp, flax, and linseed: five hundred ships were laden here last year with these articles, and as many more might have been laden this season, if the water on the bar was not so much decreased lately. There were eighteen feet, and now there are only fifteen; a melancholy circumstance for us! Remonstrances have been presented to the king on this subject, and orders given in consequence; but they are not executed: his majesty is a great man, but Berlin is very distant; and this is a frontier of the kingdom."

I asked if there were any objects of curiosity at Memel. "There is not any thing that I know of,"

of," said the second brother, "except a pot-ash manufactory, and you may see a better one at Dantzic: the ships at the quay are our finest sight." I turned the discourse to a new subject, in the intention of prolonging the time; but having, at last, exhausted every topic of conversation, and it growing so very dark, that I could hardly distinguish my companions, I found I must go; so rising up I made my bow, and wished them a good night. I returned home half mortified at my unsuccessful visit, which had not even procured me an invitation to dinner, which I wished, for a private reason.

I however, made the best of my condition, and drank a glass of tolerable Rhenish wine at my solitary supper, having ordered post horses for Koningsberg at noon next day. In the morning I walked out to look at the town. The ladies were picking out their way through the dirtiest vilest streets it is possible to conceive, in negligees and white satin shoes; and the gentlemen were escorting them to church, for it was Sunday, in blue velvet coats, and vast Kevenhuller hats. There were some exquisite figures among them. Leonardo da Vinci would have found excellent subjects to work on. It was a most laughable scene. There is not, indeed, any thing in this place to detain a man of curiosity two hours: the buildings are very wretched; and, as my friend said in the counting-house, I think "the ships at the quay are the finest sight in Memel."

From hence to Koningsberg, the road lies over a tongue of sand, about eighty-three miles in length, and not more than a single one in breadth in many places: in none does it exceed three. This extraordinary bank of sand terminates a lit-

tle to the northward of the town, from which it is separated by a haven of near half a mile in breadth. When the weather is fine, and the sea smooth, one may drive along it with great pleasure, as the sands close to the margin of the water are hard and firm. Unfortunately for me, it blew very hard from the west, and drove the waves a long way higher on the beach than usual. I landed on the sand about two in the afternoon, and reached the first post-house as night closed in. A more terrible one I hardly ever remember: it not only rained without intermission, but the wind now blew a hurricane. The sea being driven by its fury a long way beyond the usual bounds, necessitated the postillions to drive through the very surf, which many times completely covered the fore wheels of the carriage, and roared like thunder in my ears. In such a situation I could not take much repose, and more than once apprehended I should have been inevitably overturned into the sea. Morning came most welcome after such a night, and about eight o'clock I got to a miserable hovel, called an inn, where I found the poor inhabitants employed in boiling pumpkins, which appeared to be one chief article of their food. The women were without any sort of head-dress except their hair, and scarce covered to the knees. Here, among horses in a large stable, I ate my breakfast, and drank my coffee very composedly. I reached the southern termination of the sand, where it joins the continent, about noon; and gladly found myself once more on firm ground, after having driven two-and-twenty hours along the shore of the Baltic, and often amid its very waves.

My road afterwards to Koningberg lay through a flat, but inclosed and cultivated, country. I was stopped at the gate of that city. After the officer on guard had inspected my pass, a soldier, with his bayonet fixed, mounted the coach-box, and the postillion blowing his horn, I was conducted like a prisoner of state through a number of streets to the custom-house. There I underwent another search *à la Prussienne*, and was then permitted to drive to an inn.

A gentleman of rank, with whom I became acquainted the day of my arrival, did me the honour to invite me to a ball the ensuing evening at his own house. I went about six o'clock; and the weather being fine, the ladies were seated under an arbour in the garden, while a band of music played. He presented me to them all without distinction; leaving to my own feelings where to give the preference. In this situation, it was not her beauty which drew me to a particular one, though, perhaps, in that endowment nature had given her the superiority. Shall I say it was chance merely then: or are there not some secret and unknown causes, which attract by a subtle and irresistible energy certain persons, in whose bosoms a congeniality of soul has formed them to give and receive a mutual pleasure? The passions of the heart, however, depend not on the deductions of the understanding, and admiration may be experienced without defining it. Her person was slender, and formed with symmetry: a delicacy mingled with a languor was its chief characteristic. This quality was not confined to any particular attitude, feature, or look; it was diffused all over her; and might be as perceptibly discerned in the movement of her hand, as in the



changes of her eye. Time had not taken any thing from the natural loveliness of her countenance; but sickness had tinged her cheek with a paleness, without, however, diminishing its charms. She was born at Berlin, but of French extraction. Her knowledge of this last language was only equalled by her acquaintance with the Italian. She read Tasso and Boileau with equal ease. Her health did not permit her to dance; but she recommended to me her friend, a young lady, very amiable, if my heart could have found any thing so, besides herself. Music had no attractions for me, unless of a secondary nature, and which it derived from her; nor could dancing animate my heart. I returned from this gay thralldom to the happiness of sitting beside her, of regarding every alteration in her face, and attending to the accents of her tongue. She was not insensible to this species of homage, more truly flattering than a volume of compliments, and was one of the few women I have met with, who know that love has no alliance with loquacity. She invited me to teach her English, and promised, in return, to be my preceptress in German. The very genius of the language would have appeared different, when she deigned to instruct me in it; and all its asperities would have been softened in passing through such a medium. But charmed as I was with the woman and the tutorefs, insuperable obstacles precluded the possibility of my stay in Koningiberg.

This is a vast city: it contains fifty thousand inhabitants, exclusive of eight thousand soldiers; it is a great collection of houses and streets without elegance, beauty, or order. Here is an academy, founded by one of the first dukes of Prussia;

sia; but our grammar schools in England are, in general, much superior to it. A professor shewed me the library, and other apartments: there is nothing worth looking at, except the original safe conduct given by Charles V. to Martin Luther, when he attended the diet of Worms in 1521, and signed by the emperor's hand: this merits preservation.

Königsberg has a considerable trade in hemp and flax, but it is seven German miles from Pillaw, the seaport at the efflux of the river Pregel; so that only very small vessels can come up to the town. The present king of Prussia has not shewn any attachment or fondness for this part of his dominions; nor has he visited the city since the year 1753, though he comes annually to make a general review of the troops at Graudentz, near Marienwerder, on the Vistula, not far removed from hence. The river is narrow here, but there are some very pleasant gardens on its banks. I am told, a king of Bohemia founded Königsberg in 1255, this part of Prussia being at that time dependant on his kingdom.

Though I had several inducements, from the agreeable society I met with, to prolong my stay, I quitted Königsberg on the 20th of August, and pursued my journey along the banks of the river Pregel, through a fertile plain. It was one of the finest days of the season, the rays of the sun being moderated and attempered by a breeze from the water, and all nature gay. I stopped the carriage on a rising ground, at a little distance from the town, and looked back on its numerous spires, which were gilded by the eastern sun; a tear of vexation and despair stood in my eye, and diminished the prospect, as I recalled

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some tender ideas ; but fancy endeavoured to penetrate the gloom.

The axletree of the chaise broke down in the afternoon ; and as several hours were requisite to make a new one, I was necessitated to remain in the village where it happened during the rest of the day. I lay down at night in a bed, and in an apartment which might well have served for the original of that where Pope describes Villiers expiring, and than which imagination can hardly conceive any more miserable and gloomy. In the morning early I proceeded, and got to Frawenburg to breakfast. This is a little town, situated in a sandy plain, on the sea-shore. I stopped to see the church, which has been very renowned in past ages. It stands on a hill, commanding an extensive prospect, and belonged anciently to the bishops of Ermeland. These were both ecclesiastical and temporal princes. Their revenues were not less than thirty thousand ducats per annum, and their territories pretty considerable. This fief has been considered by the king of Prussia as belonging to him, and in consequence sequestered to his use : the present bishop is a young Polish nobleman, and was invested in the see some few years since by Stanislaus. He is said to possess the powers of insinuation in a great degree, and by his raillery and facetiousness, to have ingratiated himself exceedingly with his new sovereign, who, in consequence, has allowed him an annual pension of about six thousand ducats from the revenues, on which he now resides at Cracow. The church of Frawenburg is of Catholic foundation, and they were celebrating the matin service when I entered it. As they had informed me at Koningsberg, that the

the immortal Copernicus was interred here, I waited with no little impatience in the expectation of seeing his tomb; but in this I was disappointed. One of the priests assured me, that though he had been a canon of the cathedral, his remains were buried at Thorn, the place of his nativity. They, however, still shew the apartment which belonged to him; and the canons are at this time supplied with water, by a machine of his invention, which raises it to a great height from the vale below, whence it is distributed to every part of their residence. This engine I saw; and was struck with its great simplicity. The celebrated machine of Marli was constructed from the plan of it, by order of Louis XVI.

It is not more than twenty miles from Frawemburg to Elbing, which I reached on the 21st. This city was founded by a colony from Lubeck, the Tyre of the Baltic, about the year 1234. It is situated on a little river, which falls into the sea near five miles off, but admits only very small vessels. The Teutonic Knights were lords of it for a considerable number of years; but in 1450 the inhabitants ultimately shook off their yoke. From this era we may date the splendor of its annals; they became rich, powerful, and commercial; they were respected throughout all the north, and even made war on the kings of Denmark and Sweden, with success. Gustavus Adolphus took it: but his premature death, and the peace of Westphalia, which followed in 1648, restored them again to their liberties. Charles XII. entered it by assault in the beginning of the present century, as it adhered to Augustus his enemy. It remained free since that time under the protection

tion of Poland, to the diet of which kingdom it sent two members, till the 13th of September 1772, when his Prussian majesty's general took possession of it in the name of his master, and drove out the Polish garrison of two hundred men, who attempted to make some defence. The black eagle has now supplanted the cross, their ancient arms, and appears over every gate of the city. They already feel the rigour and rapacity of this new government, which threatens to swallow up all Polish Prussia, and to extinguish freedom and commerce in one general ruin. The city itself contains about fifteen thousand inhabitants. The architecture of the houses is the most grotesque and singular I have seen in Europe. They terminate in a point, and almost all the upper stories are untenable, being designed for granaries, and not for residence.

I was permitted, by particular request, to see the treasures lately discovered here, and about which so much has been said in the public prints all over Europe. They are contained in three large coffers, in a vaulted apartment of the town hall, where they had lain untouched a number of years. The whole consists of plate, or ornaments worn by the priests in the celebration of divine service. The exquisite delicacy of the workmanship constitutes their chief value, the intrinsic worth not exceeding twenty-five thousand ecus, or six thousand pounds sterling. The gentleman, in whose custody they are, gave me the following history of them: When the city was taken by Gustavus Adolphus, he put the Lutherans into possession of the cathedral, which, previous to that event, belonged to the Catholics. Uladislaus, king of Poland, restored it to them some years  
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after; but the pious followers of Luther found means to secret most of the riches belonging to the original proprietors, which they concealed effectually in this obscure retreat. The secret was a dangerous one, known to few, and very well kept. They wait, at present, to know his majesty's pleasure respecting the disposition of them; and, as he is a prince not bigotted to any particular religion or superstition, he may, perhaps, cover his side-board with them: but the Catholics hope for better things from his piety. In the same chamber where these holy relics have been discovered, were likewise several swords, which belonged to the Teutonic Knights. I examined them with great attention, and am almost induced to believe they are merely weapons of ostentation, designed, like Alexander's mangers and armour in India, to impress posterity with false ideas of their personal strength and prowess. Their weight and dimensions are so enormous, that, though I measured one of them, I am afraid to name its exact length. Nothing can be more rude and barbarous than their construction: two pieces of iron form the garde, and round the gripe is a bandage of straps of leather crossed.

Mariembourg, the original and magnificent residence of the Teutonic Knights, stands about twenty miles from Elbing. It is well known, that folly and a religious rage first gave birth to those knights, in the ages of darkness. It was in the year 1191, at the time when our Richard was opposing Saladine under the walls of Jerusalem, that the reigning pope, Celestine, instituted this new reinforcement to the Christian arms. They were only forty in number, and a German lord, by name Henry Valpot, was appointed grand

grand master of the order : their prowess did not, however, maintain them long in Palestine, from whence they were driven out pretty early in the thirteenth century. Conrade, duke of Masovia, was at that time their head. Fighting was their only profession ; and enemies of some kind were absolutely requisite. Happily for their views, the north of Europe was yet much of it unsubdued to the holy church, and wrapt in Paganism. It was a most meritorious action to cut these infidels to pieces, and Pope Gregory IX. gave his sanction to the cause. Thus authorized, Conrade led them on, and entered Prussia. They either drove out the inhabitants, or baptized them ; and established themselves firmly in their new conquests. On the banks of the river Nogat, in a beautiful plain, they fixed their grand residence, and began to construct the castle of Marienbourg in 1281. The first master of the order came to reside there in 1309. They became afterwards very powerful, and conquered all Samogitia, Courland, Livonia, and other provinces ; they made war with Poland, and, in 1461, Marienbourg was besieged and taken by the Poles, but restored again. From this era their splendor diminished : they grew licentious and debauched in their manners, tyrannical and oppressive in their government. In 1524, they were totally driven out of Prussia, under Albert, marquis of Brandenburg, the thirty-fourth grand master of their order, and their power ultimately abolished.

The castle of Marienbourg consisted of three detached and separate structures ; the first, and most ancient, was designed apparently for defence. It was square in its figure, surrounded by a trench of prodigious magnitude. The king

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of Prussia has so mutilated and altered this part, by converting it into caserns for his soldiery, since he took possession of the town, that all its original beauty is lost, and the antiquarian searches in vain for the genuine traces of the Teutonic magnificence, amid modern bricks and mortar. He has spared the chapels, which are built one over the other. The Catholic priest shewed me both. In the subterranean chapel, several grand masters of the order have been interred, under stones, round which are inscriptions; but the character, through time, is illegible. The upper one is built in a very elegant style of Gothic architecture. At the east end, on the outside of the edifice, in a deep niche of the wall, stands a wooden statue of the Virgin, twelve feet high, holding the infant Jesus in her arms: it is not badly executed, and has suffered very little in the lapse of so many centuries, from the injuries of time. One of the grand masters erected this image soon after the completion of the castle, and the Virgin being the protectress of the order, they gave the name of Marienbourg to the town and fortress.

It would seem that, when they increased in power and numbers, the second part of the castle was constructed. It is only divided by the trench from the first, but is plainly built on a different plan: magnificence is the characteristic, and it consists entirely of apartments, public and private. The whole is, as yet, in great preservation, and unaltered. The council chamber, or sala of conference, is a grand room, being twenty paces every way. In the midst is a column of an octagonal form, composed of one piece of brown granite, spreading in radii like a fan at top, and supporting the roof, which, like every other in



the building, is vaulted. There is a double row of windows in it, and round three sides is a very high stone bench, where the knights sat on these occasions. The refectoire is still more superb: it is forty paces in length, by twenty in breadth. Three similar pillars of granate support the roof, the capitals of which are curiously adorned with figures in alto relievo. There are many chambers of a smaller size. Round the whole of this second division of the castle is another moat, but neither so broad nor deep as the first.

The last division covers a longer space of ground than either of the others, and was doubtless intended for their horses, domestics, and inferior attendants. It is surrounded with a narrow ditch, beyond which is a high wall, flanked with towers at small distances, which forms the outermost barrier. The circumference of the whole fortification does not, I imagine, fall short of an English mile. Several gentlemen of the town assured me, that the subterranean works of this castle are not less surprising and vast, than the structure which appears above the earth. They say, that beneath the first of the three edifices I have enumerated, are three ranges of vaulted cellars, one under the other, into the lowest of which they have descended some years ago. I should have had curiosity enough to have done the same, if they had been ten deep; but it is not now practicable, the arches in some places being fallen in, or obstructed by earth, and the air being too noxious and unwholesome to permit the attempt. Over the chapel is a very high tower, to the top of which I ascended, by a horrid staircase, absolutely dark, and the steps in many parts broken and decayed. The prospect, from the  
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the summit, richly repaid my trouble. It extends east to Elbing, and west to Dantzic; and below lies the rich vale watered by the Vistula and the Nogat, terminated to the north by the Baltic.

The city of Marienbourg itself contains nothing very extraordinary. It was formerly the head of a league, which comprehended twenty-seven small towns, all situate in Polish Prussia, and which held dietines. This little confederacy has been long extinct, and the town itself shared the same fate as Elbing: on the same day, the Prussian soldiers having marched in without resistance. There are, at this time, one thousand six hundred of them here, which equal the number of inhabitants in the place.

I went, on the afternoon of the 23d, in company with two very agreeable young women and a gentleman, to see the junction of the two great rivers of Polish Prussia, the Vistula and the Nogat. It is one of the most picturesque and beautiful landscapes which nature presents. It is near thirteen miles from Marienbourg to the spot: about the midway one sees both rivers, and the road lies through a deep wood of oaks till within two hundred yards of the point. Here the trees are cleared away, and emerging from the gloom caused by them, the whole beautiful scene bursts at once upon the sight. I stood some minutes on the extreme verge, where the rivers unite, in silent contemplation of this lovely prospect. On my left was the Nogat, whose course is visible for several miles to the north, till it is lost between the high banks which bound it on either side. The Vistula is on the right, and forms a striking contrast, its banks being even with the water, and the river itself is only to be seen an inconsiderable

derable way, on account of its serpentine progress. A little island, exactly at the junction, covered with brushwood, forms a fine break in the view. Beyond it appears the main stream of the Vistula, undivided, which rolls along in silent tranquil majesty, under hanging woods, which extend to the south as far as the horizon. The sails of several fishing-boats, seen on different parts of the rivers, leave scarce any thing for imagination herself to add. We drank coffee in this delightful recess, under cover of the trees, on an eminence, from whence all these objects were distinctly observed. The peasants, for there is a hamlet here, brought us bread, butter, and cream. It was almost night before we returned to town.

From Marienbourg to the gates of Dantzic, distant thirty-five miles, is almost one continued garden. I crossed the Vistula at Dirschaw, a little town, most beautifully situate on its banks, and commanding a view of all this fertile country. About an English mile and a half before I got to the town of Dantzic, I came to the last Prussian guard, and entered the territory of the republic, which is at present diminished on every side, and invested by hussars and grenadiers of an absolute prince. Freedom, it is true, yet reigns within these limits, though narrow, and waves her sacred banner on the ramparts; but how long this may continue, is certainly matter of uncertainty and doubt. If the melancholy fate of Elbing, or Marienbourg, can form a presage; if the unfeeling rapacity shewn in the division of Poland, its feudal parent, and once its protector; if the general train of policy, I should rather say of unrestrained avidity, exercised by the court of Berlin in Polish Prussia, enables one to determine,  
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its final extinction is not far off. To what happy or valuable purposes, indeed, can the possession of personal independence serve, when the vital spirit, which once supplied it, is fled? Their commerce, their revenues, their riches, are already either seized on, or burthened with imposts and duties which must eventually destroy them. The city itself, which no king of Poland ever dared to enslave; which has for centuries known the sweets of an equal government and public liberty; now awaits, in trembling expectation, the hour of its destruction, and implores, perhaps in vain, the powers of Europe to save her from a new enemy, a sovereign, whose claims are equally unexpected as unbounded, and who, though apparently restrained from open violence by political motives, watches only the favourable moment when treachery or intrigue may put him into possession\*. Most, or all the suburbs, which are very populous and extensive, are already occupied by Prussian soldiery, who, on one side, are close to the very fortifications, a palisado only separating them from the Dantzic guards. Public diversions of every nature are prohibited by the magistrates, and the German comedy is in one of those suburbs which has been taken from them.

A languor and a decay was visible, at this time, through every department; and the Vistula, which, they say, at the present season of the year, used to be covered with little vessels and boats, was no longer crowded.

\* Mr. Wraxall has lived to see the painful accomplishment of his generous fears for this celebrated city, and the final partition of Poland.

An enthusiastic lover of antiquities, I did not fail to enquire after those of this place. I was indebted, principally, for my information to two gentlemen, to whom I was introduced soon after my arrival, Monsieur le Baron Zorn and Dr. Wolf, whose names I ought not to mention without owning the obligations their politeness and readiness to communicate knowledge, has laid me under. The last of them is animated with a spirit of independence worthy Hampden or Sidney. He resided some years since at Warsaw, but quitted it on account of the troubles and anarchy which foreign ambition has introduced into that capital. He retired to Dirschaw, about twenty miles from hence, built himself an observatory for his astronomical studies, and remained there till the king of Prussia seized on the town and surrounding territory. Unable to bear a yoke so galling, he left Dirschaw, and removed to this city; and he now declares, that should it cease to be free, he will embark for England, where he has already been, and where every fugitive may find an asylum. Happy, glorious country, which can thus extend its parental protection to persecuted merit of every kind; and where freedom, almost unknown from the pole to the equator, holds her peaceful and gentle reign!

The origin of Dantzic, like that of almost every other kingdom, or city, is lost in tradition and fable. A colony of Danes is said to have founded it about the middle of the twelfth century; and the name it now bears is only a corruption of the word *Danske*, which signifies Dane. Previous to this era, it is pretended, the kings of Poland had a fort and governor on a hill, at present part of the fortifications, and called from him

him Hogalberg, or Hogal's Hill, to this day. The Danes requested of him as large a portion of ground for their residence as they could circumscribe, by extending their arms: this inclosed a circle of near two miles, and was the first, or old city. Little occurs of importance from this time till the year 1312, when a certain Pole, by name Potcammer, being governor, plotted with the Margraves of Brandenburg to deliver it up to them. The deputy governor, aware of this treachery, informed Ladislaus III. king of Poland, and they jointly called in the Teutonic Knights, who kept possession of the place, and were too powerful to be expelled. Under them the new city was built, which comprehended nearly the limits of Dantzic, as it exists now. In 1456 the inhabitants threw off their subjection to the knights, in concert with the other cities of Polish Prussia, and became independent under the protection of Poland. On the flight and abdication of Henry of Valois, in 1574, that kingdom was divided, one party having elected Stephen Batori, duke of Transylvania, the other declaring for the Emperor Maximilian II. Dantzic adhering to the latter, was besieged by Stephen, the Conqueror, for a whole year, and was then reduced to purchase a peace, by a surrender of every thing valuable in the place. Yet, in twenty years after, so great were the advantages of their commerce, they were again become wealthy. The siege of 1734, by the Russians, is yet remembered by numbers here, when Stanislaus Leszinski made his escape through so many enemies; and they shew the spot, without one of the bastions, where five thousand Muscovites are interred, who perished in an attempt to storm the town.

Dantzic

Dantzic is yet neither elegant nor handsome. The houses are in general lofty, and in an antique taste. In most of the streets are trees, which, in summer, afford an agreeable shade; but in the winter must be very inconvenient. The building used at present as an exchange, merits attention from its antiquity: it is a square chamber, vaulted: in the middle is a marble statue erected to Augustus III. the late king of Poland.

I visited the arsenal, and must own I was surprised at the prodigious military stores contained in it, and the order in which they are kept. The man shewed me a sort of musketoon, weighing thirty-six pounds, which Augustus II. is said to have discharged with one hand. This I can well believe, as the proofs he gave of uncommon strength are too numerous and well attested, to admit of any question. In a small apartment of the arsenal, is a very beautiful honorary tomb, erected by Sigismund, king of Sweden and Poland, to the memory of his father, John III. It is of Italian workmanship, and finely executed. Sigismund is said to have presented this piece to the city of Dantzic.

The other public buildings are not very remarkable. In the great church is a vast pillar hollowed, which, it is pretended, was anciently used to immure ecclesiastics guilty of heinous crimes. I looked down into it from above, through two iron bars which cross the opening at the top. The depth is, I imagine, forty feet, and the square dimensions within, about seven. There is something white scattered on the ground, which they say is bones.

As liberty of religion is publicly allowed in Dantzic, there are churches of all kinds, Lutheran,

ran, Calvinist, and Catholic: there are besides convents for religious of both sexes. It is computed that the inhabitants, including all the suburbs, are not less than eighty thousand. The environs are uncommonly beautiful.

One day I went to see the abbey of Oliva, so celebrated for the peace concluded in it. Its foundation is very ancient. Subislaus, a duke of Pomerania, who embraced Christianity, erected it in 1170, dedicating it to "the holy and undivided Trinity, the most blessed Virgin, and St. Bernard." The convent and church were destroyed and rebuilt no less than eight times; the Tentonic Knights, the Poles, and the heretic Hussites, all ravaged it; the Dantzic soldiery, lastly, rased it to the ground in 1577, and were obliged by Stephen Batori to erect it anew as it now stands. On a black marble monument in the cloisters, is commemorated the pacification of Oliva, made between the Emperor Leopold and John Casimir, king of Poland on one side, and Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden, on the other, who died during the ratification of it.

The monk who attended us, shewed me the bread which was converted into stone; the story of which is written in Latin, German, and Polish, in the church. This pretended miracle happened in 1617, when some of Gustavus Adolphus's Lutheran soldiery sacrilegiously presuming to lay hands on the consecrated loaf, with intention to devour it, found it converted into stone before their eyes. I examined it very minutely, and must allow there is great merit in the choice of the subject for this deception. It is about the size of a twopenny roll, and resembles one in shape. One side is indented with a deep hole, apparently



apparently natural, but which was made, they say, by the thumb of a Swedish soldier, in the act of laying hold of it. They preserve it with great care in a silver case.

The abbot's palace, and gardens adjoining, are very elegant; but his revenues, which amounted, only two years ago, to ten thousand ducats, or near five thousand pounds per annum, and the lands of the convent, which he enjoyed in full sovereignty, are now all seized by the king of Prussia, who allows him only one thousand two hundred ducats, about five hundred and fifty pounds, as a pension during life, and about one-fourth of that sum to keep the gardens in order: he is by birth a nobleman, amiable and benevolent in his character, past the middle age of life, and universally respected. Humanity feels for such a man, and execrates the rapacity which has thus reduced him!—But this is nothing—this is even generosity and mercy, compared with other stories incontestibly authentic, which I heard here, respecting the Polish nobles, whose estates have been confiscated, and their families reduced from a revenue of one hundred thousand ducats to absolute indigence, by that monarch.

All the accumulated evils, however, which have laid waste this miserable country, are only natural consequences of its constitution and government, in which almost every political fault and error is mingled; and one is only surprised how such a barbarous anarchy has subsisted so long.

I left Dantzic on the morning of the 2d of September, taking the road to Culm through Dirschaw, in my intended route to Thorn. About ten miles to the southward of Dirschaw, I passed close to a prodigious encampment, and alighted  
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from my chaise to examine it. The postillion told me, it was one of Charles XII's. Probably it was made in 1703, when he overran and conquered all Polish Prussia with astonishing rapidity. The trenches are of enormous depth, and its situation is equally advantageous and delightful, commanding a view of all the plains watered by the Vistula, and the river itself. The sun set as I entered the little town of Mewa, where I crossed the river in a ferry, and arrived at Marienwerder, through excessive bad roads, about midnight. The sentinels at the gates permitted me to pass, after having demanded my name, and I drove to an inn, the only one in the city, at which I purposed to remain till next morning. It was a considerable time before my servant could raise any one at that late hour; and when the landlord came, he told me every bed in his house was already occupied: that if I brought my own, he could give me a room to place it in; but if not, he had not any thing better than clean straw to offer me. I then proposed proceeding immediately to Thorn, and expressed my desire of being furnished with post horses. "May I take the liberty," said the landlord, "to ask if Monsieur intends to return again, or if he goes farther into Poland?" "I purpose," answered I, "to continue my route to Gnesna and Posna; but as to my farther progress, it is not yet fixed, as I am unacquainted with the roads and accommodations." "If," said he, "you are only induced from pleasure and curiosity to visit these cities, I would advise you to defer your intention till another opportunity. To Gnesna there is at this time no post; and though you may perhaps procure horses to Posna, yet not only the roads and accommodations are of the most

miserable kind; but at this unhappy juncture, when the province belongs neither to Poland nor Prussia, it is not, in point of safety, by any means advisable." I then enquired if there was not some great road to Stettin, without returning by Dantzic. On this he informed me, that I had only to go back ten miles, and repassing the Vistula at Mewa, to turn off immediately for Konitz, a town in the province of Pomerellia, from whence I might procure post-horses to Stargard very easily, the Prussians being completely possessed of the whole intermediate tract of country, and regular relays being provided by the crown. The season of the year, which was advancing fast, superadded to the uncertainty of procuring even horses for Gnesna, made me on reflection comply with the landlord's advice. I lost not a moment therefore in the execution of it, but turning about, and tendering him my acknowledgments for his information, I made the best of my way back to the town of Mewa, which I reached by break of day. It is situate on the bank of the Vistula, which at this part is high and rocky; and opposite to it, on the eastern side, are the fields, where Charles XII. routed and cut to pieces about one thousand five hundred Poles, who vainly opposed his passage. After travelling twelve miles farther, I reached the abbey of Pipleen, which is accounted one of the finest Gothic religious edifices in these parts. It was founded by a duke of Pomerania, in the year 1250. This pious duke endowed it very richly; but his present majesty of Prussia, who has no such passionate attachment as his ancestors had for monks and monasteries, lately sequestered four-fifths of their revenue, and leaves them to

sing dirges and chant requiems upon the remainder. One of the brothers, a Pole by birth, who spoke tolerable French, attended me over the building. The altars are decorated with a barbarous splendor, and glitter with gold and silver, the king not having as yet laid his hands on these sacred utensils. I took the liberty of asking my conductor, to whom belonged a vast number of bones, which were preserved within cases of glass on either side the high altar. "They are," answered he, "precious remains of the eleven thousand virgins, who perished for their adherence to our holy religion; we had many more once, and among them two complete skulls; but the sacrilegious Swedish soldiery, in the beginning of this century, carried them away." If the depredations of armies were never more fatal, they might easily be borne. The monk very politely apologized to me, in the abbot's name, for not inviting me to dine in the refectoire, on account of its being a most rigorous fast, which permitted them not to touch any thing before sun-set, and then only bread and eggs. Having tendered him my humblest thanks; and bidding him adieu, I continued my journey, and ate my cold chicken under the shade of an oak.

It was ten o'clock at night when I arrived at a little village, about thirty miles from the abbey, situate close to a rivulet of water in a valley, and so much resembling Bibury in Gloucestershire, as it appeared to me by star-light, that I was almost ready to order some eels for supper. The landlord endeavoured to persuade me to stay till morning, as I had five-and-twenty miles to Kohnitz, through continued forests of fir, and deep sands. I would have accepted his advice; but

the horrid nastiness, and pestilential smell resulting from it, in the cabins, for they cannot be called houses, at every village where I stopped, made it impossible to lie down or breathe in them. I therefore proceeded, as soon as horses could be procured, and about nine on the morning of the 4th I got to Konitz. This is a pretty country town, and has been formerly fortified with turrets, battlements, and trenches, all which are in ruin. It was then better guarded by a complete regiment of Prussian engineers, who had been stationed there since its seizure two years ago.

I left Konitz before noon, and drove about three miles out of the road, to see the ruins of the castle of Schlokaw. This is only inferior to that of Marienbourg, and was built by the same persons. It is surrounded on three sides by the waters of a fine lake, across a small part of which is a wooden bridge, of near three hundred yards in length, entering the grand court. It has been of great extent, but time has laid many of its honours low. The chapel, the subterranean apartments, and one very lofty octagon tower, are yet in great preservation, and may remain entire for centuries. I went into the cellars, which are all vaulted, and of wondrous magnitude, running beneath the whole castle. One splendid range of apartments, repaired by the princes Radzivil, to whom this fortress lately belonged, serves to shew what the magnificence of former ages could produce, though these are now following the other parts of the edifice, and are no longer habitable.

After having visited every accessible corner in the building, I waited on the Catholic priest of the adjoining village, to procure some account of its

origin

origin and history. He was a very agreeable ingenious man, and readily complied with my request. We conversed in Latin; a language in which the Poles are more conversant than all the other nations of Europe. A miserable cripple in the streets at Konitz requested charity of me in very pure Latin, to my no small surprise; and I found the inn-keepers frequently possessed of it. From this priest I drew several particulars relative to the origin and history of Schlokaw. The Teutonic Knights built it in the year 1352, and successive grand masters were lords of it till the middle of the fifteenth century, when the kings of Poland seized on it; the order beginning about that era to decline in power and greatness. It passed afterwards into the possession of several other great families, and lastly in 1662 to the Radzivils, whose descendants possessed it till within these two last years, when only twelve Prussian Hussars drove out fifty of the prince's Polish soldiery, and erected the black eagle over the gates.

I stopped to dine at Fredlant, a small town about ten miles from Schlokaw, and then proceeded. My road lay across the desert of Waldow, which is at least forty English miles in length, and is in general barren and hideous enough. About one o'clock next morning I reached Gastrow, a little town in Great Poland, where I was fortunate enough to procure horses immediately, and got at seven to a village called Treidnitz, where I would most willingly have breakfasted, if I could have procured any. The poor man, at whose hut I stopped to refresh the horses, said, he had seen no coffee for fifteen years past, nor was any such thing to be had in the village; but at Tempelbourg, to which I had only twelve miles, I might

find it. There was no alternative; I therefore proceeded for the town he mentioned, and arrived there about ten, not a little tired.

I passed afterwards through three or four little towns between Tempelbourg and Stargard, which is a distance of fifty miles. Famine and misery were in every one: it was with entreaty and difficulty I could procure a bit of smoked goose and some potatoes in one of them; and I was almost afraid of being starved in this wretched country. I travelled all night, and to my no small comfort entered Stargard in the morning. The town is pretty large; but the best thing I saw in it was a good dinner and a clean apartment, which, after my late adventures in Polish hovels, had a thousand charms. The streets were crowded with soldiery, and nothing was seen but regimentals. The postillions who drove me, the friseurs, the very peasants, are all military under this government.

Leaving Stargard, I travelled through a most hideous wilderness of firs. Sweden can produce nothing more desolate, more unpeopled, or unfertile. The deep sands render travelling very tedious, and, though I set out at four in the morning, I did not get to Stettin, distant only twenty-five miles, till one in the afternoon. I paid my compliments next day to his highness the duke of Bevern: he is in command of the troops, and is already past the autumn of life; but a vigorous constitution, and a robust frame of body, would deceive and conceal his years, if his hair, grey with age, did not betray the secret. He has worn an uniform and boots so constantly from his early youth, that they constitute at present almost a part of his essence. I had the honour to dine with him

him on the 9th: there was a large company, all men, and all military. Every thing around him is in a martial style, and his very doors are painted with helmets, batons, and swords. The apartment where we dined was covered with portraits of the officers of his own regiment; but war had lopped off most of them. Of at least sixty, scarce ten were then alive. He shewed me what he called his arsenal; a chamber filled with models of petards, mortars, pontoons, and other apparatus of war.

Here I had the honour likewise to contract an acquaintance with the young prince of Anhalt Dessau. His generous and unbounded politeness to me, deeply affected my heart. He is also in the Prussian service; but nature formed him equally for the soft arts of peace; and gave him a refined taste in sculpture, in painting, and in music. The furniture and decorations of his house forcibly mark this turn of mind. He has travelled in England, in France, in Italy, and made a campaign some years ago against the Turks on the banks of the Danube. If to these accomplishments, are added manners the most gentle and elegant, one may readily conceive him to be a very amiable prince. I supped with him one night *tête-à-tête*; it was one of Horace's *Noctes, cœnæque Desum*, without ceremony, without ostentation and parade, which are so destructive to genuine happiness.

At Stargard, I likewise saw that fair prisoner, the princess royal of Prussia, whose history is sufficiently known. In this, the eye only can be gratified, it being most strictly forbidden to approach or speak to her. She was then eight-and-twenty years of age, and had now been a prisoner these five years. Her person is agreeable, not



beautiful. She is of a middle height, finely proportioned in her limbs, and very active in all the exercises of the body: her complexion is fair, and her features generally handsome. There is, however, somewhat sad in her countenance, when attentively regarded, not difficult to be accounted for. The manner in which she lives is mournful enough, and may well wipe out the errors she has committed. Her appointment amounts only to seven thousand six hundred dollars of Prussia, which do not make one thousand two hundred pounds a year, with which she is obliged to provide herself every thing. Two valets, and two filles de chambre, constitute her household. She has never been permitted to go without the gates of Stettin till very lately. One or two ladies always accompany her, and every female is allowed free access; but there are only two men in the place who dare speak to, or accost her. These are the Duke of Bevern, and the governor, an officer yet more advanced in years. The Prince of Dessau, though well acquainted with her previous to this disgrace, and though he sees her every day, assured me, he never held the slightest discourse with her. I must own this is a trial to which my fortitude and virtue would be quite unequal; and if placed so near such a dangerous precipice, I should inevitably fall. I had the pleasure to see her highness on horseback: she was habited *en Amazon*, and shewed the greatest address in managing the horse she rode. She sat astride, according to the custom in Germany, and made a very gallant figure. I afterwards looked at her a long time, from the windows of the room where we dined at the prince of Dessau's, opposite to which she walked for several hours. Her dress was by no means princely. A jonquil silk night-gown, and her

hair very simply adorned, gave no room to guess her quality.

Of Stettin itself, I have little to say. There are a great many houses, and a great many streets, two very large churches, a river, a quay, and, as they told me, a very extensive commerce. The inhabitants are about sixteen thousand. This is the sum total of my knowledge respecting the place.

Before I left it, I attended the parade when the Duke of Bevern reviewed the second battalion of the garrison. They are, indeed, matchless soldiers, and perform their various manœuvres with surprising celerity and address.

On the 11th of August, I proceeded on my journey, and arrived before night at Prenslaw. This is a large town, situate on a lake, and, like almost every other in Prussia, full of soldiery. I had only six German miles from thence to Strelitz; but so bad were the roads, that I did not get there till almost noon next day, though I travelled the whole night. The inaccuracy of their measurement is indeed such every where in these countries, that it is impossible to ascertain, with any precision or certainty, what a mile is. The duchy of Mecklenburg Strelitz begins only five or six English miles from the town, which is so surrounded by woods of fir and oak, as not to be seen till one is very near it. I staid there three days, induced by the gracious reception I met with from the duke. He was at a little palace of retirement, which he has built about four miles from Strelitz, and named Adolph's Pleasure. It is situate on the bank of a small lake, but the country, except an inconsiderable tract immediately round the house, is covered with

groves of prodigious thickness. During winter he resides at New Strelitz, where he has a much larger palace, and a court, as a sovereign prince.

The town of Old Strelitz is small, and as the dukes have not had any palace there for many years past, it contains nothing, to draw a stranger to visit it. I left it on the 15th, and took the road of Zell, across Brandenburg. I stopped at Mirow, a little town near the frontier of the dutchy, to see a palace, where, his highness had informed me, her majesty the queen of England, and all the ducal family were born. It is a handsome structure, but is very rarely visited by the reigning duke. Continuing my journey all that day, and the ensuing one, through the Prussian territories, I arrived on the bank of the Elbe in the afternoon. It is a noble river, though here at a vast distance from the sea. I crossed it in a ferry, and landing on the opposite side in the dominions of my native sovereign, got to Danneberg, a little town, the same night. The moon shone very bright, and as I had yet between fifty and sixty miles to Zell, I was determined not to lose a moment. But my landlord expatiated with such eloquence on the badness of the roads and the length of the next stage, that I was induced to postpone my journey till next morning. Setting off at five, I was in hopes of reaching Zell that night: but I was disappointed, and again obliged to lie at a wretched house, where, however, the host, to comfort me, said the present king of Sweden, probably from a similar necessity, had taken up his lodging some few years ago.

I entered Zell the following morning. I had the honour, after being presented, to dine with  
her

her majesty the queen of Denmark next day. I own I had a high curiosity to see this young sovereign, whose history and misfortunes have so much interested all Europe, who has been driven, in the bloom of life, from a throne and kingdom, which were not worthy of her.

The castle of Zell, where her majesty resided, is detached from the city, and surrounded in the ancient style of defence, with a very broad moat full of water. It is large, of a square form, and was built by one of the dukes of Zell, before the dutchy was merged in the house of Hanover. The country on every side is barren, sandy, and unpleasant. It is forty miles from Yerden, and as dreary a ride as can be imagined. At a little more than half way, on the southern side of the river Aller, is the little palace of Ahlden, celebrated for the imprisonment of the electress Sophia, wife of George I. Here she died, a short time before the accession of her son, the late king, to the crown. It is said, that he once made an attempt to see her, while under confinement, and having separated himself from his attendants in hunting, came unexpectedly to the house: but the nobleman to whom the care of her person was confided, refused him admittance, and prevented this natural interview.

The cathedral of Verden is an object of some curiosity, from the remote antiquity to which its foundation ascends. It is said to have been first erected in the year 786 by Charlemagne, after his conquests over the Saxons. The portraits of all the bishops, from that era to 1566, when the Lutheran religion supplanted the Catholic, are painted on the walls of the choir. I could not help smiling at the first of them, who was, as it ap-  
pears

pears by the inscription over his head, a saint, a count, and an abbot; but who, notwithstanding all his titles, secular and ecclesiastical, was murdered soon after his investiture by the Pagan Saxons, who paid no sort of deference either to his coronet or crozier. The present cathedral is by no means, however, so old as Charlemagne: it was built about the middle of the fourteenth century, the former one having been reduced to ashes in 1313. An antiquarian might find ample food for investigation in it, the whole floor being paved with tombs, on which are effigies and inscriptions, many of which are now mutilated or illegible. Before the high altar, is a marble monument of costly workmanship, erected to a Philip Sigismund, born in 1568, and who was both duke of Lunenburg and bishop of Verden. The see is now extinct.

Verden was purchased by George I. from Frederic IV. king of Denmark, who had rendered himself master of it, during Charles XII's confinement in Turkey, to whom it previously belonged. The town contains only about five hundred inhabitants, exclusive of a battalion of Hanoverian soldiery. It lies along the bank of the Aller, but has not any trade, and the meanneis of the buildings sufficiently evinces its poverty.

I arrived at Bremen on the 22d of September, which is distant only twenty miles from Verden. This is a great, a rich, and a commercial city; but I cannot say I think it very agreeable, or that it contains much to attract a traveller's notice. Were human life of double the limits nature has assigned to it, one should not be tempted to visit it more than once. There is one peculiarity, however, belonging to it, which nothing but

but ocular demonstration could have convinced me of its reality. Under the cathedral church is a vaulted apartment, supported on pillars; it is near sixty paces long, and half as many broad. The light and air are constantly admitted into it by three windows, though it is several feet beneath the level of the ground. Here are five large oak coffers, each containing a corpse, which without being embalmed, have suffered no corruption. I examined them severally for near two hours. The most curious and perfect, is that of a woman. Tradition says, she was an English countess, who dying at Bremen about two hundred and fifty years ago, ordered her body to be placed in this vault uninterred, in the apprehension that her relations would cause it to be brought over to her native country. Though the muscular skin is totally dried in every part, yet so little are the features of the face sunk or changed, that nothing is more certain than she was young, and even beautiful. It is a small countenance, round in its contour: the cartilage of the nose and the nostrils have undergone no alteration: her teeth are all firm in the sockets, but the lips are drawn away from over them. The cheeks are shrunk in, but yet less than I ever remember to have seen in embalmed bodies. The hair of her head is at this time more than eighteen inches long, very thick, and so fast, that I heaved the corpse out of the coffer by it: the colour is a light brown, and as fresh and glossy as that of a living person. That this lady was of high rank seems evident from the extreme fineness of the linen which covers her body; but I in vain endeavoured to procure any lights into her history, her title, or any other particulars, though I took no little

pains for that purpose. The landlord of the inn, who served as my conductor, said he remembered it for forty years past, during which time there is not the least perceptible alteration in it. In another coffer is the body of a workman, who is said to have tumbled off the church, and was killed by the fall. His features evince this most forcibly. Extreme agony is marked in them: his mouth is wide open, and his eye lids the same; the eyes are dried up. His breast is unnaturally distended, and his whole frame betrays a violent death.—A little child, who died of the small pox, is still more remarkable. The marks of the pustules, which have broken the skin on his hands and head, are very discernible; and one should suppose, that a body, which died of such a distemper, must contain, in a high degree, the seeds of putrefaction.—The two other corpses are likewise very extraordinary.

There are, in this vault, likewise turkeys, hawks, weasels, and other animals, which have been hung up here, some time immemorial, some very lately, and are all in the most complete preservation, and unaltered in their parts. The cause of this phenomenon is doubtless the dryness of the place where they are laid. It is in vain to seek for any other. The magistrates do not permit any fresh bodies to be brought here, and there is no other subterranean chamber which has the same property. It would have made an excellent miracle two or three centuries ago in proper hands; but now mankind are grown too wise.

This city is generally known to be celebrated for its old hock. The wine is all brought from the banks of the Rhine, by land carriage, and de-

posited in the public cellars. These are wondrously capacious, running beneath the town house and exchange. There is one particular room, called the rose, where they keep wine, as they say, of one hundred and seventy years old, and for which they ask seven dollars, or twenty-five shillings sterling a bottle; though it is too old to be drank.

Bremen stands on the same river as Verden, but here it is known by the name of the Wesel. Vessels of burden lie twelve or fifteen miles below the city, from a deficiency of water to carry them up higher. It contains forty-five thousand inhabitants, and, it is said, would even exceed Hamburg in commerce, if the river was not an impediment. It is a free city, under the protection of the empire, and styles itself a republic on its coin. The king of England, as elector of Hanover, has, however, some important rights within the place; and not only the cathedral belongs to him, but a considerable number of buildings, public and private. He possesses, likewise, a species of supreme judicatorial power; for, though the magistrates take cognizance of all crimes, within the territory of Bremen, his delegate or bailif must pronounce sentence.

The fortifications, though kept in very good order, are of no consequence or strength: the strongest army in the field, is ever master; and during the last war, French or English were alternately received into the place, as they appeared before it. The style of building, here, is horrid; all the upper stories being adapted for granaries, and totally uninhabitable. It has a most grotesque appearance to the eye, though many of the houses are now in some degree modernized. The streets are all narrow; the quay is the



only pleasant part of the city, as it is broad, and commands a view of the water.

By the municipal laws, all the race of Abraham is excluded from the capacity of trading and residing here; or at least there is so high a duty laid on their persons, about ten shillings a day, as must amount almost to a prohibition. This exclusion has given rise to a sarcastic remark on the inhabitants themselves, which, whether just or not, I am no judge. Hamburgh has adopted a contrary policy, and admits, indiscriminately, these people, with European nations. In a lucrative view, I know not which may be the wisest measure; but certainly the latter is the most generous, and breathes a greater philanthropy.

Plutus and Mercury are the chief deities venerated in this city, and like the senate in Tiberius's time, they will not admit the gods of strangers. Pleasure, under every shape, of dance, of comedy, of masque, seems peculiarly hateful. My landlord, however, informed me, that they had lately formed a monthly concert, in the winter season, to the no small terror of the burgo-masters, who have endeavoured to proscribe this unprecedented refinement. The most polite manner of spending an evening known for several centuries past in Bremen, has been that of meeting in small boxes about twenty feet long and six wide, in the public cellar, where they drink hock under a cloud of smoke raised from their own pipes. One may swear these are the genuine descendants of the ancient Saxons, who imagined the joys of heaven to consist in drinking ale out of the skulls of their enemies! Women seem not here to hold any rank in society,

or

or to form the connecting charm which binds the jarring principles of human nature together. Man, solitary man, meets in clubs and companies, to doze, drink, and to dispute.

It is a desolate and dreary ride from Bremen to Hamburgh, across the sandy and unpeopled heaths of Lunenburg. I got to the southern bank of the Elbe, on the afternoon of the 26th, and from thence enjoyed a beautiful prospect of Hamburgh at the distance of two leagues. It makes a noble figure; and, as the space which separates it from the Danish town of Altona, is very inconsiderable, the two places appear to form only one magnificent city, which covers the side of the river for three or four miles in length. I lay at Harburg, which belongs to his Britannic majesty, and crossed over next morning.

Hamburgh has been so often described, that to attempt it would be only repetition without novelty. Besides the wind was fair, and I was flattered with a favourable passage to Hull, which induced me to shorten my stay at this place.

In this tour round the Baltic, Mr. Wraxall had travelled near three thousand miles between the 19th of April and the 30th of September. In that short space, it was not likely he should be able to attend to trivial circumstances, in such a wide range; nor to enter into minute descriptions. But they must be fastidious indeed, who can attend him without pleasure, or without improvement. Of the various authors that have entered into our extensive collection, we have found none more difficult to abridge with effect; because his writings contain so little extraneous matter; we are even tempted to wish that he had expanded more. Yet it must be allowed, that

the northern regions present so little interesting to general readers, that conciseness can scarcely be a fault. Did we not feel the truth of this, we should be happy to travel over the same ground again, with the inquisitive and accurate Coxe, who has accumulated a mass of observations, equally valuable to the politician and the philosopher.

TRAVELS

TRAVELS IN  
*P O R T U G A L,*

CHIEFLY RELATIVE TO SOCIETY AND MANNERS  
IN THAT COUNTRY,

By ARTHUR WILLIAM COSTIGAN, Esq.

Interspersed with some additional Remarks and Descriptions,  
from Twiss, &c.

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**M**R. COSTIGAN, we are told, was a captain of the Irish brigade, in the service of Spain; and having resigned his commission from a love of retirement, which it appears the generosity and affection of a brother in London assisted him more comfortably to enjoy, in his way to England, he stopped some time in Portugal, and addressed a series of letters from thence to his brother, which form the basis of the following pages.

Unlike the generality of travellers, Mr. Costigan is more attentive to domestic details, and to such little histories as develope the character of the natives, than to local descriptions and remarks on the soil and productions of the country. Hence we have been obliged to call in other assistance for the information of our readers. We do not, however, object to Mr. Costigan's plan or performance; he has executed his work with some success in the mode he proposed to himself; and

therefore ought not to be tried by any other test. It must be observed, however, that he gives the dark side of the Portuguese character: perhaps he viewed it through the medium of prejudice, or rather adopted the prejudices of others.

Having, with some difficulty, obtained permission to resign, and taking his leave of his brother officers, with tokens of mutual regard, Mr. Costigan proceeded to Cadiz in 1778, where he soon after met with an English officer from Gibraltar, who gave him a passage, in a small vessel he had hired, to the coast of Algarve in Portugal. A few hours brought them to Faro; and during this short expedition, Mr. Costigan experienced much politeness from the English officer, whom he calls Lord Freeman, and with whom, in the sequel, he became very intimate and friendly.

Faro is pleasantly situated, environed by a fine, variegated country, rising gradually to a high ridge of mountains, about two leagues distant. The chief trade in this vicinity consists in figs, almonds, some wine, oranges, and a few other articles, carried on exclusively, by three or four English houses established here, whose gains are immense.

Thus, by the natural consequence of all monopolies, the riches of a country, which ought to be dispersed among the multitude, centre unfairly in a few private hands; and a stop is put to that general circulation, so indispensable to the welfare of the state. Our author, though he wishes to speak respectfully of the mercantile character, says, he witnessed here the extortions of the English merchants, and their gross impositions on the poorer natives, to a high degree; while the worthless and craving magistrates, and officers of justice,

justice, for the sake of a bribe, suffered them to plunder their countrymen with impunity.

Faro was the Ossonoba of antiquity. An English fleet, after taking Cadiz, in 1596, landed some troops here, which, after plundering and burning the town, carried off the library of the celebrated Jeronimo Ozorio, bishop of Silves, one of the best classical scholars this country ever produced.

After a short stay at Faro, Lord Freeman and our author set out for the Guadiana, where they proposed taking water, for some leagues up to the frontiers of Alentejo. Colonel Bagot, a countryman of their own, and at that time commander of a Portuguese regiment, insisted on accompanying them as far as Castro Marin.

By the communicative disposition of the French valet, attending Lord Freeman, who is characterized as being extremely amiable, unaffected, and sincere, Captain Costigan obtained a pretty exact knowledge of his companion's family and business. This information, our author communicates in such an agreeable style, and at the same time the narrative gives so much insight into the intrigues of the Portuguese, that we adopt his own manner in delivering it.

“ Lord Freeman,” says Captain Costigan, “ is the eldest son of a noble family in England, and heir to a large fortune. He is at present a captain in the army, and his regiment garrisons Gibraltar. In an excursion he made to England, the year before, he accidentally met a young lady at an assembly, whose manner, appearance and deportment, made an instant impression on his heart. By frequent visits, afterwards, a mutual passion took place; and that before either had explained

explained to the other, their situation or connections.

Lord Freeman, soon after, was remanded to his regiment, and finding it impossible to procure a prolongation of his leave of absence, the lovers entered into explanations, and settled a plan of correspondence during their approaching separation, which it was hoped, would not exceed six or eight months; as the young lady had received repeated advices from her parents abroad, that they would send for her within that space; and her admirer promised himself the happiness of joining her as soon after her arrival as he could obtain permission from his superior officers.

The caprice of fortune is surely in no instance more visible than in the destiny of marriages, and in the strange and often whimsical manner in which many of them are adjusted and concluded. The following circumstances will give validity to this remark, in one, out of many thousand, instances that might be produced.

Frances Mary Howard, mother of our heroine, and related to an illustrious family in England, had lost both her parents at an early age. She had been scrupulously brought up, in all the dogmas of the Roman faith; and to bind her from wavering, by the tie of interest, she had a fortune left her of twenty thousand pounds, provided she married a gentleman of the same religion, and only one thousand, if she acted contrary.

Her education conspiring with her natural disposition, made her a zealous Catholic, and lamenting that her favourite religion was deprived of all its pomp and splendor in her native country, she was inflamed with the most violent desire of seeing

ing it in all its ostentatious magnificence, and of professing it free from restraint.

Accordingly, when she became her own mistress, she resolved to transport herself to the continent, chiefly with a view of settling in Spain; because she had heard a high character of that gallant nation, and of its steady attachment to the Catholic faith. England and that country, however, being at war, when she arrived at Lisbon, she felt herself in a dilemma how to proceed, and accordingly had recourse to Father Preston, who at that time acted as her confessor.

This crafty priest, when Miss Howard came to consult him in regard to her future proceedings, immediately saw how much this incident might be turned to his own advantage; but pretending to the young lady, that in an affair of such moment, he could not give her his opinion without previous meditation, and imploring the Divine assistance, he took time to concert measures for her detention in that country.

At the next interview, he informed her that he considered it as a lucky circumstance that the war prevented her from going to Spain, as she proposed, when the door was now open to such an elegant retreat as the court and city of Lisbon afforded. That far from wishing to derogate from the advantageous opinion she had justly formed of the Spanish nation, he would only take upon him to assure her, that in no great or commendable quality were the Portuguese inferior to them; and, that, in conscience, he could not recommend any situation in preference to Lisbon.

His advice being taken, for who are so easily duped by their priests, as the devotees of the Church of Rome, Father Preston immediately



waited on his old patroness, the marchioness of Pancorvo, and informed her that Providence, ever watchful over its faithful servants, had now furnished him with an opportunity of expressing the sense of the many obligations he owed her, provided she would listen to his proposal.

He then entered into a detail of Miss Howard's situation, fortune, and turn of mind; and concluded by pointing out what an advantageous match it would be for the viscount of Baldiorra, her eldest son, who was nearly of the same age.

The marchioness was not blind to these prospects of advantage for her family, and requested the father's farther assistance to consummate the business; promising him her utmost interest at court for his services.

The marchioness early waited on Miss Howard, among other ladies of rank who did her that honour, and by the artful insinuations of the confessor, her visit was first returned, when more than common attention was paid to the stranger, and a borrowed magnificence dazzled her eyes. The marchioness requested all reserve might be thrown off, and conducted Miss Howard through every apartment of her extensive palace, making a display of jewels and other rich articles which she had collected, on purpose to strike the view of her visitant. They then entered the family chapel, where they offered up a short prayer; and the marchioness proposed, as a token of her regard, to present her at court.

Soon after, Miss Howard was introduced, in form, to the royal family. The princess of Brazil paid her the most marked attention, and wished their acquaintance might be of long continuance. To make short, through the assiduity of

the marchioness and the address of Father Preston, the way was soon paved for a match between Miss Howard and the Viscount of Baldiorra, who, indifferent in his choice, followed his mother's directions.

By the marriage articles, it was stipulated that the viscount should receive the interest only of the lady's fortune, and that the principal should be equally divided among all the female descendants, of whom the only one alive was the lady to whom Lord Freeman was attached.

But to return from this digression, which, however, paves the way to farther details respecting this family, our author, in company with Colonel Bagot, Lord Freeman and his domestics, set out for Tavira, after dining with the British consul at Faro; and travelled through a beautiful champaign country, consisting principally of inclosed corn fields, interspersed with various delicious fruits.

Tavira is the Balsa of former times. As they entered this town, soon after sun-set, they were met by the Fraternity of the Rosary, who were parading the streets, and singing the Terço\*, preceded by an image of the Virgin, and many tapers, and followed by a crowd of people in large brown cloaks.

Our travellers alighted and did obeisance to the idol of the day, and then accompanied Colonel Bagot to the palace of the viceroy, or governor of the province. It was sometime after

\* This is one of the divisions of the Rosary, which it must be understood consists of fifteen Paternosters and one hundred and fifty Ave Marias, ten of the last to each of the first. But who can explain what is inexplicable!

they were announced, before this supercilious grandee admitted them to his presence, when they found him seated under a canopy, in a chair of state, with some stools before him. After making their bows, they had the honour to be invited to sit down, as being foreigners; but they were soon disgusted with the silly impertinence of his excellency, and hastened to take their leave.

During supper, Colonel Bagot informed his companions, that the viceroy, on whom they waited, was a relation of the Marquis of Pombal, the late minister, and that he had been placed in that situation, on purpose to get a subsistence, his estates being in the hands of his creditors. He farther added, as explanatory of the means by which he supported such an appearance of magnificence, that, as in some parts of Africa, the natives worship the devil, for fear of the mischief he may do them, so here, every person of any authority in the province, who regards his own safety, or wishes for any favour from the viceroy, is obliged to ply him with presents, or rather bribes, which constitute his principal income.

On Lord Freeman's remarking that the governor appeared shy, distant, and supercilious; Mr. Bagot assured him that, from the deficiency of education in this country, the very best of the grandees were obliged to be so, to avoid losing the authority and respect due to their stations; it being natural for the Portuguese, when once treated only with common attention, to presume upon it, till it became quite offensive and dangerous. And with regard to their behaviour to foreigners, conscious of their own ignorance, they were prudently reserved, lest they should expose themselves to contempt.

Next morning, having made an early breakfast on chocolate, they set forward for Castro Marin, four leagues distant. The country through which they passed was covered with almond and orange trees, and sheltered on the left by a range of hill.

In a few hours they arrived at the quarters of Captain Gaynor, an officer in Colonel Bagot's regiment, and a native of Ireland. He received them in the most hospitable manner, having been apprized of their coming by his colonel.

After some refreshment, they walked to the new town of St. Antonio de Arenilha. This place enjoys a delightful situation, on the banks of the noble river of the Guadiana. It has an extensive and commodious quay, with a spacious landing place, and stairs, before a handsome customhouse.

The buildings in the town are elegantly uniform; the streets are straight and well paved, and cross each other at right angles, dividing the town into four equal quarters. Two large inns are erected for the accommodation of travellers; and a neat square occupies the centre of the town. On one side of this square stands a new church, and on the opposite, the town-house, and other public buildings. The middle of the area is adorned with a large marble fountain, constantly supplied by a jet d'eau, which throws up the water to a considerable height, and conveys the idea of coolness and refreshment in this sultry clime.

Such was the external appearance of this new and elegant creation of the late minister, Pombal; but on entering the town, not a soul was to be seen in the streets, and very few any where else, except a magistrate and a sergeant's guard.

Colonel Bagot informed them, that this place was a standing monument of the minister's pertinacious obstinacy and vanity combined; that he had built it to encourage the pilchard fishery, though it was too distant from the sea to answer this purpose; and that he was farther ambitious to mortify his neighbours and rivals, the Spaniards, without considering how much he was exposing himself to their ridicule, by such an useless erection.

The impropriety of fixing on this spot for a town, was early pointed out; but he had gone too far to recede, without wounding his pride; and though he ordered a worthy old judge to report to him, according to his conscience, which, of two situations proposed, was the most eligible; because the judge felt it his duty to prefer the other, at the same time supporting his sentiments by irrefragable arguments, he was seized and clapped into a dungeon.

The building of the town now went on with vivacity; not a murmur was heard against its site. The fishermen at Monte Gordo, the only proper spot for their business, were ordered to leave their huts, and repair with their families to the new town. They were obliged, indeed, to comply with the first part of the command; but the last they despised: to a man they retired into the territories of Spain, where they remained till a change of rulers gave them liberty to reoccupy their former habitations.

It might have been supposed that the expence of building an useless town, would have tended considerably to drain the royal coffers; but it was no such thing. The minister, through his viceroy, in this province, called every man of pro-

perty into his presence, explained his majesty's design of building a town, and expatiated on its advantages to the trade and fisheries on the coast of Algarve; adding, that it would be highly acceptable to the king, if each person present would build such a house as suited his circumstances. An insinuation of this kind, under a despotic government, is reckoned equal to a command; and the viceroy, being prepared with the different terms of agreement, got each to sign a deed, to execute, within a stipulated time, the part in this business he consented to undertake. No more flagrant proof than this can be produced of the fatal consequences arising from absolute power, both to the property and personal security of a nation.

They returned to Castro Marin, very much fatigued by walking in the heat, and found an excellent dinner provided for them by Captain Gaynor, after which the glass circulated cheerfully, till, in the course of conversation, it came out, that another officer was likely to be put over the captain's head, as aggregate major; on which his eyes sparkled with rage, and he uttered a thousand imprecations against his more successful rival, abusing the knaves and idiots who had advised such an absurdity and injustice. With this he left the company, threatening to write a letter of abuse to the secretary at war, and to throw up his commission.

Our author and his friends felt much interest in Captain Gaynor's fortune, and they requested Colonel Bagot would inform them of the prominent features of his military life and conduct, which, with some apologies and reluctance, he at last complied with.

“ Gaynor,” said he, “ is one of the worthiest men alive, and so full of integrity and honesty, that those virtues, from which he cannot divest himself for a moment, have, literally been his ruin in this service. He is as intrepid as Hector, and at the same time as meek and tractable as a lamb; but unfortunately for his interest, he cannot bear the smallest appearance of dissimulation or dissimulation, and is utterly incapable of dealing with a people of manners so different from his own.

He revolts at the least departure from probity and truth, and as he scarcely meets with more than their resemblance here, it is no wonder that the natives regard him as a surly, ill-bred being. Add to this, there are few of the Portuguese officers of any consequence, with whom he is acquainted, that he has not found occasion to challenge. Thus he is either feared or disliked by all of them; and the repeated unfavourable reports that they have whispered against him at court, have effectually hurt his interest there.

“ Gaynor,” continued the colonel, “ was a pretty old soldier in 1762, and had served with credit in Germany and America, but came here only in the quality of ensign. He was afterwards promoted to a lieutenancy, and probably would have remained in that situation, had I not solicited for him the command of the company of grenadiers, when I was appointed to the regiment. The minister, not caring to promote a man so obnoxious to many of the young nobility of his own proper motion, confessed himself happy to accept my nomination of a person he knew to be an active officer, but whom he could not personally serve. I soon after proposed him as aggregate major to the regiment, and have con-

tinued so to do, with promises that he should succeed; but at last the superintendent for St. Anthony, which saint has long had a captain's commission in the regiment, and the annexed pay, has succeeded in obtaining the emolument Gaynor wished for. This avowal, added the colonel, may place us in a ludicrous and a contemptible light, but it is the misfortune of our situation, not our fault. Knowing it to be a part of my duty, I make the regiment I command attend on the religious ordinances established in this country; and as every regiment has its patron, ours chose St. Anthony, who, besides his commission, has two pence a month from every individual, which sum is expended in saying masses for the souls of those who die in it, and in celebrating the festival of the saint. His superintendent, who is a nobleman, and a bigoted blockhead, is the fortunate aggregate major; or rather continues the agent of the saint, who enjoys the nominal honour.

On their requesting to know, what was the nature of the services St. Anthony had performed in the regiment, on the merits of which his farther promotion was founded, the colonel drew from his pocket a bundle of papers, consisting of more than fifty certificates of miracles, which the saint had performed for persons in the regiment. They were a collection of the dullest and most impertinent stuff that ever was put together, and were fit rather to excite contempt than laughter. He had restored a very favourite lap-dog to the major's lady, which had been stolen from her, and which she despaired of ever finding again, till she implored the assistance of St. Anthony! He had also saved a poor soldier, who was drowning in a deep river, by miraculously throwing



throwing a rope in his way. Another had been recovered from the small-pox by thinking on St. Anthony, after he was given over by the surgeon of the regiment.

Colonel Bagot excused himself from reading any more of those puerile impositions; but as a crown to the whole, and a confirmation of all the rest, and to establish St. Anthony's character as a man of honour, and a good soldier, he gave the superintendent's certificate in his behalf.

After reciting his own numerous titles, he proceeds; "I attest and certify, to all who shall see these presents, written out by my command, and signed at the bottom with my sign manual, with the broad seal of my arms close by, that the Lord St. Anthony, otherwise the Great St. Anthony of Lisbon, has been enlisted and held a place in this regiment since the year of our Lord Jesus Christ 1668; and I farther attest, that the fifty-nine within certificates, with the cypher of my name affixed to each, do comprehend and contain a true and faithful relation of the miracles and other eminent services the said St. Anthony has, at different times, rendered to, and performed in, this regiment, in consequence of his having a place in the same: that, therefore, to doubt the veracity of these miracles, is as heinous a crime against the Holy Ghost, as to doubt any of the dogmas of our holy faith, or the miracles of Christ himself, the evidences of which are not so strong and convincing as those in the present instance before us\*, and by which our blessed Sa-

\* We are shocked, as we write, at the blasphemy of this deed; but as it is vouched for as genuine in form, we think our readers ought to be made acquainted with the gross impiety of the Roman church,

viour's own words are fulfilled, when he told his disciples that, "after me shall come those who shall do greater works than I have done," which prophecy clearly pointed to our great St. Anthony. (The certificate then recapitulates many wonderful military services of the saint, after which it again goes on) "I do farther certify, that in all the above papers and registers, there is not any note of St. Anthony, of bad behaviour or irregularity, by him committed, nor of his having ever been flogged, imprisoned, or any way punished by his officers, while private in the regiment: that during the whole time he has been captain, he has constantly done his duty with the greatest alacrity, on all occasions, in peace and war, and as such has been seen by his foldiers, times without number, as they are all ready to testify; and in every other respect he has always behaved like a gentleman and an officer; and on all the above-mentioned accounts, I hold him most worthy and deserving of the rank of aggregate major of the regiment, and of every other honour, grace, or favour, her majesty shall be graciously pleased to bestow. In testimony whereof I have hereunto signed my name, this 25th day of March, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1777.

"Signed, MAGALHAENS HOMM."

To many this might appear like caricature, yet our author assures us, that it is literally matter of fact, and that both in Spain and Portugal, no business is more seriously or gravely treated. The opinion so prevalent in England, that the clergy in Catholic countries know better things, and only keep the people in ignorance, to possess the more power over them, is not universally

true; for many of the clergy, both here and in Spain, are upright in their intentions, and think they are discharging their duty; and are the chief dupes themselves of the impostures they support.

Before Colonel Bagot had quite finished reading the major's certificate, Captain Gaynor, whose passion was quite subsided, came into the room, and told him, that the chief magistrate of the place, with some other persons, were come to pay their respects to him. They all retired into another room to coffee and chocolate, and after some uninteresting conversation, the magistrate and company took their leave.

Our traveller and Lord Freeman now discovered that both Colonel Bagot and Captain Gaynor had been among the unhappy English officers, who remained in the Portuguese service ever since the campaign of 1762; and that the former, being seduced by the prospect of high rank, and the flattering behaviour of the court at the beginning, had neglected to pursue in time his promotion in the service of his own country, till his proffers of service there were made too late for his readmission upon such terms as he could in decency accept; and by such unworthy and injudicious refusals, Great Britain lost the abilities of some very experienced officers. The narrative of their efforts to be restored to rank in their own country, reflects very little honour, if true, on the rulers at that time; but we pass it over as extraneous.

After having the justest reason to conceive a very high opinion of those two worthy officers, Captain Costigan and Lord Freeman took their leave, with many expressions of genuine respect.

They embarked very early next morning, and as the tide was favourable for carrying them up the river, they soon arrived at Mertola, the Myrtillis Julia of the Romans. As it presented no attraction to detain them, they immediately mounted their horses, and proceeded on their journey. The road was new made, and for the most part excellent, but so overgrown with brambles, that it was with difficulty they could get along.

Towards night they arrived at the city of Beja, the Pax Julia of antiquity. Here they found little to draw their particular attention. It stands on an eminence in the middle of an extensive plain, easily convertible into a fertile track, but which is a dreary and uncultivated waste, either from the paucity or the indolence of the inhabitants. Lord Freeman had a young priest in his train, named John Carlos, who was of great service to them, by acting as their interpreter with the peasants, whom they found very courteous and communicative; which struck our author the more, as the Spanish peasantry are remarkable for the opposite disposition.

The country people informed them, that the road over which they had travelled from Mertola, had been made by order of the Marquis of Pombal, to facilitate the communication with his new town in Algarve, and that it had been performed by Corvée\*.

Having reached Évora, they put up at a tolerable inn for the country; and though the meet-

\* This is a regulation by which the peasants, to the distance of some leagues round, are obliged to give their labour, without the least remuneration from government.

ing between Lord Freeman and our author was quite accidental, they seem to have been perfectly pleased with each others society; nor was the young priest, Carlos, an unacceptable acquisition, as he possessed a turn for knowledge, and a quickness of parts very uncommon for a Portuguese.

Evora was the Liberalitas Julia of the Romans, and the reputed birth-place of the famous Viriatus; and for some time the residence of Sertorius, after he was prescribed by Sylla. The surrounding country is covered with vineyards, interspersed with corn-fields. Within the walls stands a large Carthusian convent, called the Scali Cœli, or Ladder of Heaven. Here a number of self-devoted gloomy enthusiasts lead a life of voluntary abstinence and unavailing insipidity, which, by a little custom, becomes so habitual, and apparently so natural, that the vulgar are deluded into an opinion of their extraordinary sanctity; and treat them with the utmost veneration and respect.

As they were taking a walk, towards evening, in the great square, which lies in the middle of the city, and at the foot of an eminence, on which the castle stands, and were remarking the gloomy situation of the shops under long deep arches, an old priest ran up and addressed their companion, Carlos, in English, who immediately recollected having seen him at Lisbon the year before.

The name of their new acquaintance was Dr. Butler, who offered frankly to attend them over the city; and, as it was now growing late, was prevailed on to return and sup with them. He informed them, that he had lived above thirty years in Evora, and was president of the college established there in the reign of Peter II. for the education

education of young students from Ireland; but that the revenues had been chiefly alienated under various pretexts, and barely left him a maintenance.

The old priest was delighted with this opportunity of meeting with any of his countrymen, and gave charge to the landlord to go to his college, and desire his servant to bring him a double flask of his best wine, because he apprehended that in the inn was not over excellent. Having tasted the doctor's wine, they found it of the first quality, and wished to know how he procured it. He informed them that, poor as he was, he had always some pipes of it in his cellar; and that he wished he could send one of them to his friends in Ireland. He farther said, that if it possessed any superiority over the other wine of the country, this arose from the particular directions he gave in regard to the making of it, a circumstance he always attended to himself.

Having breakfasted with the worthy doctor, at his college, next morning, they were then conducted by him to the castle, mostly in ruins, but commanding a delightful view over a rich and beautiful country. "What a shame it is," exclaimed the old priest, "that so fine a country should be in the hands of such wretches! No soil produces finer grapes or worse wine, entirely owing to the slovenly manner in which it is made. They have not a barrel, or any kind of wooden vessel in the province; and they keep all their wine in large ill-baked earthen jars, and mix it with lime and chalk, by way of fining it. It is afterwards transported, from place to place, in dried hogs' skins, sewed up, and pitched within and without, which renders it unfit for Christians to drink."

See, gentlemen," continued he, " what an extent of country to the southward covered with heath ! what would that produce, were it planted with vines, or sown with corn ; for there is not a spot but would admit of cultivation !"

They were next carried to the cathedral. Evora is an archiepiscopal see, with a very ample revenue ; but the archbishop never resides there. He was inquisitor general, regent of the courts of justice, and held various honourable offices besides, through the favour of the court, though he was reckoned one of the worst informed and dullest fellows that ever put on the habit of St. Austin. They were afterwards shewn the college of the Jesuits, an immense building, which, after their expulsion, had been converted into a silk manufactory ; but, for want of support, soon fell to decay, and the fabric itself is now running to ruin.

They then took their horses, and rode out to survey the famous aqueduct built by Sertorius, and which still conveys a noble stream of water to the city, so excellent and so pure, that the inhabitants give it the appellation of the Silver Water. It is brought from a fountain about five leagues distant. They also noticed some traces and remains of the Roman wall, which anciently surrounded the city, and which King Fernando had ordered to be thrown down about the year 1380. The modern fortifications are so full of breaches, that they can be of no utility as a defence.

The last place they visited in Evora was the Recluses of St. Bruno, where they obtained ready access by the means of their guide. The shelves of their library were filled, as usual, with the

same dull polemical works and legends which are usually met with among monks. The only book that attracted their notice was a fine folio Homer, which Lord Freeman secretly wished to purchase; and therefore asked the librarian what it was. He replied, that he believed it was an old Hebrew or Arabic book, which had remained there from the time of the Moors; but that none of them now understood it. His lordship now thought himself sure of the prize, and was going to offer money for it; but Dr. Butler interposed, and told him, that it was impossible to alienate the most trifling thing belonging to the house.

They now returned to the college, where they were entertained with a collation; and during this, on the urgent request of Lord Freeman, the doctor was prevailed on to favour them with a brief character of the Portuguese, and a general view of the state of the country.

“In my opinion,” said Dr. Butler, “the paralyzed and consumptive state of all modern Spain may be traced from the cruel and unjust expulsion of the Jews and Moors. The forced conversions too, which Don Manuel was so zealous in forwarding, fixed a prodigious quantity of Jewish blood in Portugal, which has found its way into most of their families of distinction, in particular, and is easily distinguishable in their features, tempers, and dispositions.

“One thing which must strike every observer, is, the surprising contrast between the nobles of Spain and those of Portugal: the former are brave, sincere, and liberal in sentiment and action; the latter are exactly the reverse. As you descend among the Spaniards, the natural charac-



ter vitiates; in this country, the lower the rank, the personal character rises the higher.

“ I wish I could, with justice, except the royal house of Bragança from the general censure on the Portuguese nobility; but the truth is, if ever there has appeared any superior greatness of mind in that family, it has entirely originated from fortunate incidents, or the assistance of others.

“ During the last reign, a resolute and overbearing minister centred every channel of power and authority in himself alone; and a weak and pusillanimous monarch threw himself into his arms, as the only person in whom he could confide. A personal quarrel which the minister had with a Jesuit, who acted as king's confessor, added to pre-existing causes, made him seriously and heartily set every engine at work for the destruction of that order, which he at last accomplished.

“ The earthquake of 1755 served only to confirm his authority, and to render it more absolute. The war with Spain, which followed some years after, by sanctioning the introduction of foreign troops, enabled him to curb effectually an ambitious and domineering clergy. But no sooner had the distinguished officers of other nations brought the Portuguese army to any thing like discipline, than their services were neglected, or even their persons insulted.

“ The last act of this minister, when the king, his master, was on his death-bed, was to marry the presumptive heir to the crown, then only sixteen years of age, to his own aunt, a woman past thirty-one. His disgrace followed; and those who had been imprisoned by his means, being now set at liberty, increased the popular roar of obloquy against him.

"His successor had all his bad qualities, without any of his virtues. He exerted only a low cunning to maintain his place in peace, without attempting any thing hazardous.

"The present time and government," added the doctor, "must not be meddled with; I must, however, give my opinion, that the church has too much to do in the political drama, and it is even indecent to see the lengths that the queen's confessor carries his interference, which must disgrace this government in the eyes of all Europe."

They cordially thanked their kind friend for his sentiments, and took their leave with expressions of mutual regret and regard. As they stopped half way to Villa Viçosa to bait, and were stretched under the shade of some pines, a man, mounted on a mule, overtook them with a note from the doctor, inclosing a letter of introduction to a gentleman at Elvas, which he had forgotten to give them at Evora; but which he said might be of some service to them.

Having made an excursion from Villa Viçosa to visit the banks of the Guadiana, and the garrison of Olivença, which, though on the Spanish side of the river, yet belongs to Portugal, they slept at a miserable inn at Jurumenha. In the opinion of the Portuguese this vicinity is all classic ground, as it is the scene of their most brilliant exploits against the Castilians.

Mr. Costigan says, that it was a fortunate circumstance for him that he met with Lord Freeman, whose notion of travelling, and modes of observation, were exactly similar to his own; and who, for reasons that will be explained in the sequel, was in no haste to reach Lisbon. The young ecclesiastic, John Carlos, was likewise a

valuable acquisition to their party, as his clerical habit was an introduction to the priests and friars, and his agreeable and insinuating manner was sure to gain their esteem. They had thus an introduction into convents, and found all their enquiries facilitated.

Arriving at Elvas, where they purposed making some stay, one of the sentinels at the barrier challenged them, asking, in a haughty tone, whence they came, and what was their business. Carlos answered, that they came from Estremos, and had letters for his excellency the governor. On this they were conducted to the governor's house, where they met with the most polite reception, and many professions of services. He invited them to dinner at once. Their next business was to wait on the gentleman to whom they were recommended by Dr. Butler. He was a major general in the army, and chief engineer of the garrison, and was then absent, superintending the artificers at Fort La Lippe, but he soon returned. His name was La Valéré. He was tall and thin, pretty far advanced in years, but active and vigorous.

When he had read the letter, he bid them consider his house as their home; and while they were talking, the governor sent a message, desiring the major general's company to dinner. This obliged them to part for the present, that they might dress against the hour of dinner, which was fast approaching.

When they entered the governor's house, the dinner was serving up. His lady, who was the only woman at table, was wrapped up in a long baize cloak, but her hair was prettily decorated with flowers and diamond sprigs. The governor

was also in his cloak; and there had been some powder thrown on his ancient wire wig. He took his seat on the lady's right hand, desiring Valéré to sit on the left, and Lord Freeman next. A prodigious fat man, in an officer's uniform, with the cross of Malta hanging on his breast, sat next the governor. His name was Don Joao, and the company gave him the title of excellency; but he scarcely opened his lips, except to eat, drink, or laugh at the jokes of others. The rest of the company, which was numerous, took their places according to their ranks; the carving knight\*, at the lower end of the table, serving them round.

The company was stiff and ceremonious, nor was the aid of the glais called in to exhilarate them; but it seemed as if deep draughts of water produced the same effect.

At last, the governor called for a wine glass, into which he poured a thimbleful of that liquor, and drank to the healths of our countrymen, who returned the compliment in full bumpers. One of the priests, who seemed to be a wag, repeatedly called for wine; on which the lady began to rally him, and told him he drank like a mauregato, or mule driver.

As soon as dinner was over, a folding door was opened, and the company passed into the next apartment, where the dessert, consisting of sweetmeats and fruit, was set out on a much smaller table; for half the company had disappeared.

The principal luxury of a Portuguese entertainment consists in the dessert. Each of the

\* An office of honour at court, and in some noblemen's families.

company takes one or more spoonfuls of liquid sweetmeat, while a servant stands behind, with a large tumbler of pure water, which is drank off immediately, and, in their estimation, is more refreshing than the finest wine.

The company afterwards ate of the different fruits, and drank a glass of Malmsley Madeira, which was very sweet and luscious. Lord Freeman expressed a desire to see Fort La Lippe; but the governor referring to the major general to confirm his remark, assured him, that in consequence of positive orders from the court to the contrary, it was not in his power to grant this indulgence. He expressed his concern that he could not comply with this request, adding, that they might visit the whole garrison and Fort St. Lucia, and desired the favour of their company on the glacis next day, when he would order out one of the regiments to manœuvre before them.

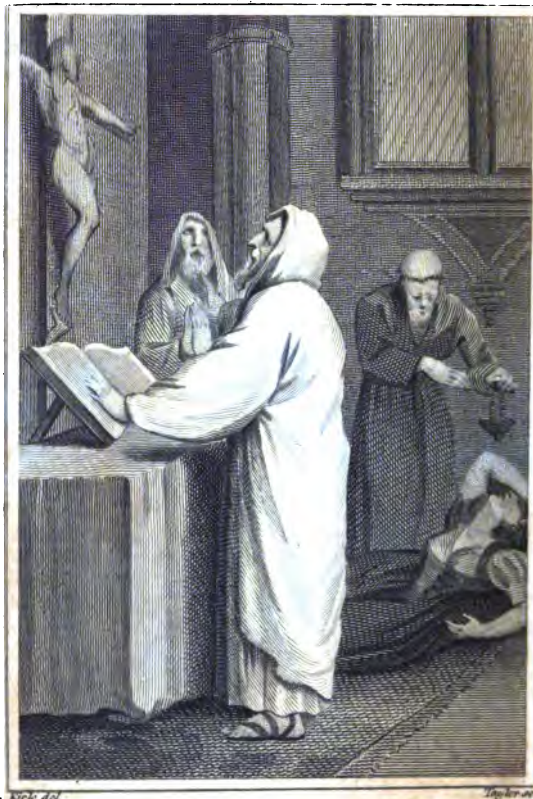
They did not take their *sesta*\*, as the rest of the company did; but perambulated the ramparts of the garrison with M. de Valéré. The whole were in good order; and the soldiers appeared well dressed, and had a martial air.

Valéré offered to introduce them to the nuns of St. Claire, which is reckoned a great compliment; but they declined it; agreeing, however, to accompany him to the bishop's in the evening, where there was a sort of assembly.

They now discovered that the fat gentleman, at table, was colonel of the regiment of cavalry in the garrison, though he had not mounted a horse

\* This is a sleep of some hours after dinner, during the extreme heat of the day, and is usual in Spain, Portugal, Italy, and other warm climates.





*Capuchin Friars reading the  
Office of Exorcism. p. 181*

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for some years, as it was not possible to find one capable of supporting his weight. He was of an ancient family, and had the character of being one of the most complete toppers in Portugal.

Lord Freeman wished to know why so great a part of the company retired before the dessert; and was told, that it was conformable to regulations established in the army, for subalterns to withdraw, before the general ate his sweetmeat. This is a degrading distinction, and may, in some measure, account for the forlorn state of the Portuguese army; for where officers are not respected, the service will never be in a flourishing condition.

In their perambulations, next morning, they happened to stumble into the convent of Capuchin friars. On entering, they saw two of the friars dressed in their surplices and stolas, standing before the great altar, and reading the office of exorcism on those possessed with unclean spirits. Before them lay, on the ground, three women, dressed in black petticoats, and a sort of veil, or mantle, which covered the head, and the whole body down to the knees. Two of these women howled piteously; while the other was tearing her hair, and making strange contortions of her face, particularly when the acolyte, according to the form prescribed, sprinkled them with the holy water. In a short time, however, the devil seemed to be vanquished; but this is a farce so often played in Catholic countries, that it scarcely deserves mention.

On leaving the church they walked into the cloister, and passed into the garden of the convent, where they saw several of the reverend fathers basking in the sun. Making up to the fa-

ther



ther guardian, they apologized for their intrusion, professing it was curiosity which induced them to visit his garden, to which they paid some compliments. His reverence, on this, became very affable, and shewed them the real tea tree growing there, in the open air, in a flourishing state. He said it had been planted by a friar, who had been a missionary. He gave them some of the dried leaves, of which they made tea, and found it very palatable.

As they were proceeding to the bishop's palace, M. de Valcré informed them, that his lordship was descended from an English family of noble extraction, and that he often boasted he had English ribs in his body, and would certainly give them a gracious reception, though he was one of the most intriguing and mischievous priests in the kingdom.

Being announced at the episcopal palace, they were ushered into a large saloon, tolerably well furnished, and hung with crimson damask. After some time the bishop entered, preceded by three young ecclesiastics, and followed by his two nieces, or rather mistresses. The company paid their respects, and our countrymen were presented, and received with great cordiality. Sweetmeats and glasses of water were then handed round; and, soon after, tea and coffee.

Cards were then introduced; and the company divided, and formed different tables. After playing some time, the assembly broke up, and the bishop took a courteous leave. One of his nieces paid Lord Freeman several secret attentions; which convinced them, that gallantry and intrigue among the ladies were natural to them in this country.

Next day, they were on the glacis at the hour appointed. The first regiment of the garrison was drawn out, and waited for the governor. The uniform was new: blue turned up with scarlet, with a white cape and orange-coloured cuffs; white waistcoat, and yellow breeches.

The governor came, preceded by all the staff officers of the garrison, on horseback. He was mounted himself on a fine charger, with a full pique saddle, and large embroidered furniture. The line presented their arms, as he approached, with three ruffs, and the colours dropped. The exercise and manœuvres then followed, which were performed with tolerable exactness.

That forenoon, our countrymen rode round the environs, as wells as those of Forts St. Lucia and La Lippe with General Valéré. Their conversation naturally turned on the army; and Lord Freeman expressed his surprise that they had not one of the finest in the world, considering how many natural advantages Portugal possessed. "Alas! my lord," said the officer, "did you ever hear of an army without officers, or can even a single regiment exist without them?" In this respect the Portuguese army is deficient, and ever must, from the very character of those who aspire to commands.

That day they dined with the general, and met the governor and bishop, with a large party of officers. The dinner was sumptuous for this country; for the Portuguese are very abstemious, except in the article of Sweetmeats. Some of them, however, shewed good appetites. Burgundy was freely served round, and healths were circulated, at once to enliven and to shew respect. When the king and queen of England were given

given, the artillery of the garrison was heard; and another discharge took place on toasting the king and queen of Portugal. Don John, the fat knight of Malta, was again in company, and drank excessively, calling vociferously for more wine, which was of a quality he had not often tasted.

The dessert and coffee being over, they retired to sleep the festa, which they seemed, in general, to have more than usual occasion for.

Next day, our countrymen, accompanied by M. de Valéré, rode to Badajoz, three leagues distant, in Spanish Estremadura; and inspected the field of battle of the lines of Elvas, fought in 1658. To assist their military researches, their friend, the general, furnished them with an authentic copy of a memorial of the campaign of 1762, drawn up for the information of the king, by Marshal General Count la Lippe, who commanded the Portuguese and English forces, acting on that frontier, against the united armies of France and Spain.

The following day, they dined privately with M. de Valéré, who favoured them with a history of his extraordinary adventures; which, nothing but his known veracity could render credible.

He was born in Picardy, and received his military education at the school of La Fere, under M. Belidor, who recommended him to Marshal Saxe. This great officer treated him with the greatest kindness, and at the end of his second campaign, which was that of the battle of Dettingen, M. de Valéré, solicited and obtained leave to visit his relations at Amiens.

He had not been long at home, before he had the unhappiness to discover, that a beloved sister

had been courted and abandoned, without any cause given, by Baron de Romenil, then a captain of a regiment quartered at Amiens. This ungenerous nobleman had not only forsaken her, but taken liberties with her name. Valéré was fired with indignation—he challenged him, and left him on the *carreau*.

Sensible of his danger, he immediately fled to the protection of Marshal Saxe, then at Dunkirk, to whom he unfolded his sad tale, and by whom he was privately sent to Paris, with a letter of recommendation to the secretary at war. In consequence of this, M. de Valéré received the commission of sub-engineer of the garrison of Port Royal, in Martinico, and immediately went on ship board at St. Maloes.

In the vessel were a number of young women, who had bound themselves apprentices, in the colonies, for a certain number of years. Among the rest was a Mademoiselle Joinville, to whom he soon became extremely attached, and who admitted him into her most intimate friendship.

Hitherto fortune had been favourable; but as they approached Cape Finisterre, a sudden squall carried away their main topmast, and part of the bowsprit, and they continued to be buffeted by stormy weather till they reached the rock of Lisbon, when the captain declared the necessity he was under of entering that port to refit.

They had not been long in the harbour, before the news of their having so many young females on board, brought them numerous visits from French, English, Dutch, and Portuguese gentlemen, priests, friars, and all colours and habits. In spite of all the captain's care, who was bound to deliver his cargo safe, these gentlemen, in a

short time, carried off the whole, except Mademoiselle Joinville, who said she would never quit the ship while M. de Valéré remained in it.

Meanwhile the repairs went on, and they were frequently visited by the captain of a Portuguese man of war, and another young officer, who paid particular attention to Miss Joinville; but nothing particular seemed to pass between them. Just as they were about to sail, the captain, M. de Valéré, and Miss Joinville received an invitation to dine on shore, at the young officer's house. The captain excused himself; but the other two went; and as soon as they landed, were put into a carriage, which was ordered to follow another carriage. They drove with great rapidity for about an hour, then changed mules and drove as before, changing cattle a second time before they stopped. At last they entered a court yard, surrounded by a very high wall: Miss Joinville was conducted up stairs, while M. de Valéré was carried into a kind of cellar, where he was confined, and civilly treated for three months; and then was promised his liberty, on taking an oath never to mention the circumstances of his imprisonment, which he was given to understand was contrived by the young lady he came in company with.

Having complied with all that was demanded of him, he was put into a close carriage with a small sum of money in his pocket, and, after driving some hours, when it was dark, he was taken out, and wished a good night. He found himself on the quay of a small river, about two leagues from Lisbon, to which he proceeded as soon as possible.

Here he was like a man dropt from the clouds, neither knowing whence he came nor what to do. His uniform was become rusty, and he had not changed his shirt for three months. He found his way, however, to the French ambassador's, and got speech of his maitre d'hotel, who, casting a supercilious look at him, as soon as he began his story, asked if he had brought any papers, or letters of recommendation.

M. de Valéré had faved nothing of this kind; and frankly confessed it; on which he was told that he was an adventurer, and threatened with being sent to the galleys, if ever he appeared there again.

Reduced to the last distress, he was glad to enter into the family of a nobleman to teach his son French; and, at length, by perseverance and intrigues with some of the principal female domestics, one of whom he married, he obtained a captain's commission.

It is impossible, in this work, to attend him through all the vicissitudes of his fortune, after he entered into the army. The Count la Lippe found him possessed of much military knowledge and merit, and warmly patronised him; but when he retired from the Portuguese service, the mortifications La Valéré underwent, would have broken the heart of any but a Frenchman. Cabals, intrigues, false accusations, and every species of injustice imbittered his life. Zealous, however, for the service in which he was employed, and conscious of integrity, he bore them all; and now advanced in years and taught by experience, he continued to serve a nation he had reason to despise; but he found it impossible, from the degraded state of the army, to serve it with effect,

effect, and therefore yielded to circumstances he could not prevent.

Having detailed the principal adventures of his eventful life, he concluded thus: "Judge then, gentlemen, what a situation I must be in; and what interest I, or any man of feeling or honour, can have in such a service: For my own part I am totally indifferent about it, though I am obliged to continue in it, for the sake of my family. I shall, therefore, endeavour to rub through in the best manner I can; and, as I am now old, any hole will serve a man to die in."

By the time M. de Valéré had finished his narrative, it was growing late; and, as our author and his friends had disposed every thing for leaving Elvas next morning, they soon after bade their entertaining host adieu, with the strongest sense of his politeness and his merit.

Next morning, they left the garrison of Elvas, and employed more than fourteen days successively in visiting all the posts and situations mentioned in the campaign of 1762; undergoing much fatigue in traversing such a rugged and barren country, where often they could not find so much as a bit of bread for themselves, or forage for their horses. The peasants, however, were every where courteous, and prompt to render their best services.

Having examined the interesting grounds on both sides the Tagus, particularly the famous pass of Villa-Velha, they arrived at the town of Castel Branco, where they rested some days; and then continued their route by Penamaçor, Sabugal, Covilham, and Alfayates, to Almeida; for the most part through a rocky sterile country.

On arriving there, they were conducted from the barrier to the officer commanding in the place, who interrogated them, in a haughty tone, respecting their business. They told him they had letters for the king's lieutenant; but they found this gentleman was gone out on a shooting party, and that it was not known when he would return. Disgusted at the uncivil reception they met with here, they pushed on immediately by the Douro road, and passing Castel Rodrigo, they came to a poor village when it was quite dark; and put up at a wretched inn, where they could find nothing but shelter, either for themselves or their horses.

Fortunately, however, their friend, the young priest, in his rambles round the place, discovering a house of better appearance than the rest, boldly knocked at the door, and entering into a large hall, saw a table set out for supper. Carlos congratulated himself at the sight, and, on enquiry, found it was the curate's house; but that he had been lent that night to the king's lieutenant of Almeida, to whom he immediately procured an introduction; and then ran to tell his friends of his success. They all had a plentiful supper at the head quarters, pleasant company, and tolerable accommodation as to beds.

Next morning, they wished to resume their journey to the Douro; but the king's lieutenant insisted on their returning with him to Almeida, and added such inducements, as to amusement and company, that they yielded to his solicitation.

Almeida stands on the top of a very high mountain, on the frontiers of the province of Beira, and but a league and a half distant from the Spanish castle, in the kingdom of Leon. The town is



well fortified, and has two gates, with a quadrangular castle in the middle, and handsome barracks.

After dinner, they walked round the ramparts, and visited the garrison, but found nothing new in military matters, after seeing Elvas.

The king's lieutenant of Almeida, was a native of North Britain, an old and worthy officer, who had served during the course of two wars in the armies of his own country; and had been induced, like many others, to remain in the service of Portugal, where he was eminently useful, till the death of the late king; at which period, being dissatisfied with his situation, he attempted to return to the service of his own country, but without success.

He was, however, so far fortunate as to be esteemed by the administration that was formed after the decease of the king, on account of the distinguished candour and undesigned integrity of his character.

Our travellers saw into the disposition of this officer at once; for it was open as the day without the shadow of guile or deceit. They met likewise, with another officer who was here on a visit, an Englishman of the name of St. Amour. This gentleman had a clear judgment and comprehension; but was impetuous in his temper, and addicted to satire, which he freely vented against the clergy, nuns, and friars, whose hypocritical and immoral lives furnished him with abundant scope for the exercise of his talent.

They found another character here, Colonel Macilphan, an Hibernian originally, but who had so long left his native country, that his brogue was almost the only memento he retained of it. He still preserved,

preserved, however, all the resolute firmness of his countrymen; and after having fought to very little purpose, in the character of gentleman cadet, in the Irish brigades, both of France and Spain, he passed over to Portugal, at the breaking out of the war in 1762; and signalized his entry into the service, by terrifying a paymaster into his duty, which spirited conduct gained him great credit with Count La Lippe. By the patronage of that distinguished judge of merit, he rose in the army; and had lately formed an advantageous match with a young Portuguese heiress, which set him above dependence on his profession.

The last gentleman officer Mr. Costigan mentions at Almeida, was Brigadier Forbes. He had formerly made himself remarkable by a rencontre with Mr. Wilkes at Paris; and when he arrived first in Portugal, he was considered as a tilter; but a very short experience of the propriety of his conduct and character, soon convinced the world, that he was as incapable of giving an affront, as of tamely receiving it from any man. After many difficulties, he had at last matched himself to a lady of high rank and family.

Brigadier Forbes and Colonel Macilphan favoured our travellers with a very entertaining account of their adventures in Portugal, and confirmed what they had every where heard of the degraded state of the army in this country; but a narrative of Major St. Amour, relative to what had lately happened in the garrison to which he belonged, exceeds all that ever was recorded in the annals of military infamy, and deserves to be laid before our readers, which we do in that gentleman's own manner.

“ The person whose baseness and whose crimes form the history I am about to give, is a native of Bragança, and was married and established there. He was hereditary civil governor, or constable of the town, superintendent of the custom-house, a lieutenant of a regiment of cavalry, and the laziest drone that ever disgraced a cockade. By means of false certificates of sickness from the surgeons or physicians, or by surreptitious leaves of absence, he contrived generally to escape the duty of his regiment. But he was not idle in other respects—he contrived to introduce himself to a convent, where he debauched a nun, and having continued his furtive visits till satiety bred disgust, he then paid his addresses to another nun in the same convent, and sister to the former, with whom he had equal success.

The jealous and forsaken nun, soon discovered this second intrigue, and out of revenge, communicated her suspicions to the bishop of the diocese. A plan was concerted to detect the sacrilegious intruder, and he was found within the precincts of the nunnery, concealed under a pile of faggots, and carried prisoner to Chaves. Here he was tried by a court-martial; convicted, and sentenced according to law. The sentence, as is usual, was transmitted to court for approbation, and was thrown under the table, to save the trouble of making any remarks on it.

After being a long time a prisoner at Chaves, the governor at length, as a special favour, allowed him to walk through the town on his parole of honour. By way of amusement, he seduced a married woman, prevailed on her to poison her husband, that they might have no interruption, and then escaped into Spain.

Our gallant remained with his mistress at no great distance from the frontier garrison, living on his rents, which were regularly remitted to him. The minister was so provoked when he heard of the complicated villainy of this wretch, that he sent particular orders to the governor of Chaves, to have him hanged in effigy, in presence of the whole garrison under arms, and that his person shall be declared infamous.

“ At the very commencement, however, of this present promising administration, that same infamous person returned to Lisbon, furnished with such powerful letters of solicitation, that her most Faithful Majesty was pleased to grant him a plenary pardon for all his atrocious crimes and misdemeanours. But as if she thought she had not sufficiently signalized her consummate weakness and shameful lenity, she has replaced him, by a new commission, in the same post of the same regiment, which by a sentence of a court-martial he lost, ordering it to be signified to the regiment, that she would severely punish any officer who refused doing duty with him. For this commination, however, she had no occasion ; for none of them were found delicate enough to scruple associating with him, though there are three brothers of the two nuns he debauched, in the convent, constantly doing duty in the same regiment.

“ To crown all, the generous queen ordered every note or entry of this officer's desertion, and of the court martial held on him, to be erased from the registers, that there might exist no future remembrance of such infamous proceedings.”

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Though it was late when Major St. Amour finished his narrative, and they were all to set out next morning for the banks of the Douro, they could not part without some remarks on such nefarious conduct in government. But from concurrent testimonies and proofs, it appeared, that under such a wanton despotism, law was of no manner of use, but to be insulted, or at best, to be treated as a dead letter :—That many salutary laws had been promulgated on a variety of subjects, but that they were rather calculated to answer some particular purpose at the time, than to be of general or permanent utility.

Next morning they arrived to breakfast at a village on the banks of the Douro, called St. John da Pasquiera. Having observed the mountainous and rugged banks of the rapid Douro on both sides, and learned that the roads were rough and uneasy to Porto, they resolved to hire a boat to carry them thither ; and accordingly embarking, they reached that city in the evening, and by the pressing solicitations of the British consul, they took up their quarters with him, as he had been apprized of Lord Freeman's arrival, by letters both from London and Lisbon.

The foreign merchants, especially the British, who are by far the most numerous, not only live in affluence themselves ; but the natives follow their example, and are become more social and polite, than even in the capital.

The consul was a most entertaining companion, versatile, sprightly, and communicative, and had an admirable skill in adapting himself to the present company, of whatever nation or language it was.

Being a single man, though pretty far advanced in life, his establishment was small, though he occupied a very spacious house. His domestics consisted of an old Portuguese beldam past eighty, and a young Galician boy. He had a large collection of books on many different subjects; and when he invited his countrymen to take up their residence with him during their stay, he swore he could find them nothing but clean beds and a breakfast; as for dinners and suppers, it was the business of the city to provide them; and indeed they had so many invitations of that kind, that it was impossible to accept them all.

The library was always open, and as it was well stocked with books suited to all tastes, they generally spent some time there in the morning. The young priest, John Carlos in particular, was quite transported with this opportunity of improving himself; and the consul was so pleased with his ingenuous manners, that he readily assisted his studies.

The consul, being a man of science, had formed an observatory, and was well provided with instruments. He was in the habit of making experiments in electricity and optics; and on this account, had twice received the honour of a visit from the commissaries of the holy inquisition at Coimbra; having been reported as a magician, who by the help of the devil, drew the thunderbolts from the clouds into his own garden. It seems he had fixed a long bar of iron horizontally over his house, from one end of which was suspended an iron chain, which reaching a flower plot under his windows, the lightning had several times in a thunder storm, made small holes in the soft earth, and on one occasion, had scat-

tered his flowers, about and made a considerable opening.

This was much talked of in the city, and the priests, with their usual ignorance, had reported him as practising the black art; but the commissaries of the inquisition, being men of candour and reflection, were convinced of the innocence of his pursuits and even much entertained by his philosophic studies.

In the company of this gentleman, our author felt himself perfectly happy; but he had reason to expect this pleasure could not be of long duration, as Lord Freeman, whom he was determined not to leave, was in hourly expectation of being summoned to Lisbon. His lordship had confidentially informed him, that he had lately received letters from a faithful servant, stationed at Lisbon, in which he was made acquainted, that his dearest Donna Lucretia, after recovering safely from the small-pox in England, was soon expected in Lisbon; and that he had been, hitherto, employing the interval of their separation, in visiting the different parts of Portugal, merely to fill up the time agreeably.

One evening they were invited to an assembly, at the house of a Portuguese nobleman, who much affected the company of the English. After tea, coffee, and sweatmeats had been served in abundance, a considerable part of the company stood up to country dances, while the rest retired to two adjoining apartments, where card tables were placed.

At one of them the eldest son of the family held a faro bank, which soon drew much company to it. After playing some time at this game, our author, in looking round the table, to his surprise,

prise, saw three or four of the domestics, who had served them with tea and coffee, seated familiarly at the table, and punting and conversing on the most intimate footing. Mr. Costigan remarked this seeming impropriety to the consul, who assured him, it was the universal custom here; and said the Portuguese were shocked at the improper and severe distance at which the English kept their servants, treating them more like slaves than humble friends and attendants; whereas they thought, gentle and familiar treatment bade much fairer for conciliating their affections and insuring their fidelity. There certainly is much humanity in this theory; but how far it is possible to carry it into practice among English domestics, is no easy matter to determine.

Soon after their arrival at Oporto, the governor carried them to pay their respects to the chief governor of the city and district. His excellency was old and infirm, and almost worn down to a skeleton, but had a monstrous prominent eagle nose. His capacity was very weak, and talents he had none; yet he was a well meaning man, and seldom did harm if he did no good, which is saying much for a Portuguese fidalgo.

His lady was also pretty far advanced in years, but reckoned sensible and polite. She had formerly been handsome, and literally painted up to the ears; for the latter were of the same red hue as the rest of her face. She had been thrice married, and had brought more than twenty children into the world, who, in the masculine line, were all remarkable for an invincible stupidity; and in the female, for a turn for gallantry and intrigue.



Porto, or Oporto, as it is generally called, is the second city in the kingdom, and is said to contain thirty thousand inhabitants. Many English families reside here, who are chiefly engaged in the wine trade. The factory maintains a clergyman, who officiates at each house in rotation.

Oporto and its suburb, Villanova, are each built on a hill, with the Douro running betwixt them. There is no bridge over this river, because it is apt to overflow its banks, and to increase with such rapidity, that no structure could withstand its impetuosity. Even ships are sometimes forced out to sea by it, and lost on the sands, or dashed against the shores.

Chairs and litters are commonly used here in bad weather; and the boats on the river have an awning, like the Venetian gondolas.

The merchants assemble daily in the chief street to transact their business, and are protected from the sun by sail-cloths hung across from the opposite houses. The chief article of commerce, is wine, of which twenty thousand pipes are annually exported, eighty thousand are the usual annual produce; so that three-fourths are consumed in the country. Some of the wine vaults belonging to the merchants are capable of containing six or seven thousand pipes.

Our travellers visited the great cathedral church, which is an old extensive building, without symmetry, and consists of many parts patched together without design. Even did it possess any beauties, its situation is most unpropitious for a display of them.

They entered another church without the walls, denominated that of the poor clergy. It has a tall, ill-proportioned steeple, which has been

raised at a vast expence. The inside is ornamented, or rather disfigured, with a profusion of carving and gilding, without the shadow of taste or arrangement.

They next came to the church of the bare-footed Carmelites, a new structure, the whole front of which is covered with carving in stone; but in the same bad taste. The pediment is crowned with three monstrous and ill-proportioned figures, representing Faith, Hope, and Charity. Within are thirteen different altars, all very richly ornamented up to the very roof, but in the most tasteless style.

The great Franciscan convent, almost opposite to the consul's house, is a new fabric, and consists of two large squares, of four stories high, with a spacious and well-lighted corridor in the centre of each, and the cells of the friars on each side, to the number of two hundred and fifty. The friars, as soon as they saw the British consul within their walls, crowded round him out of respect. The father guardian was a tall stout man, with a pair of spectacles before his great goggle eyes; and his thick yellow cordon had five large knots on it, in commemoration of the five wounds of Christ. He gave the consul a hearty embrace, expressing his pleasure at seeing him, and that he wished for some more of his advice in finishing the buildings of the convent, which he said he was afraid could not be concluded within his triennial administration; as the friars now brought him little more than was necessary for the daily subsistence of the convent. He complained that he had no time to think of his own salvation, from the necessary vigilance to keep the young friars from rambling, and to send the old ones to  
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preach, and bring back charities to the convent ; and that, what between the gadding disposition of the young friars and the laziness of the old, his choir was never more than half full.

The consul heard and condoled with him in his pious labours, and encouraged him to proceed in the same resolution ; assuring him he was convinced that it was by the interposition of the seraphic St. Francis himself that his reverence had been called to such a perilous and difficult charge, in such critical times ; and nothing less than his profound judgment and capacity could be equal to such a task. This last compliment seemed to tickle the vanity of the father extremely, and as it was impossible to say a better thing, they took their leave.

On coming out, they observed engraved over the great gate of the convent, in capital letters in Portuguese, " The Virgin, our lady, was conceived and born immaculate, and without original sin." This is a favourite tenet among the Spaniards and Portuguese, and has occasioned as much ill blood, as if it were an article of belief absolutely necessary to salvation. The folly of controversy was never more egregiously displayed than in the defence and attack of this unmeaning doctrine ; but it would be tedious and disgraceful to human intelligence to enter into its history.

In their various perambulations round the city, their notice was attracted by a large massive building, very high, with iron grates and bars before the windows. This the consul informed them was the tribunal of the high court of justice for the city, and all the northern provinces of the kingdom.

Lord Freeman observed, that he did not think it a favourable indication of distributive justice, to see such ample provision made for criminals and prisoners; and asked if there was a general jail delivery from time to time? The consul assured them there was no such thing; that in almost all civil suits and litigations, sentence was obtained in favour of that person who could muster most empenhos; that in criminal processes, when sentence is duly passed, it is seldom executed, unless when a culprit is declared innocent; for then, with a small empenho, he may obtain his liberty; and even when capitally convicted, he can by the same means, obtain a perpetual prorogation of the execution of the sentence.

They requested the consul would inform them what the meaning of an empenho was, for they did not understand it. "An empenho," replied he, "is an act, whereby a person in habits of friendship with another, invested with power, interposes earnestly in favour of a third person, most commonly a worthless character, in order to obtain for him, against charity, reason, and justice, some special grace he does not deserve, or to avert the pains and penalties he may justly have incurred."

"But," added he, "I will explain this to you by an example. Two cousin-germans of this province of Entre Douro e Minho, both men of some property, one a private gentleman and the other an officer, entertained a violent jealousy of each other on account of a lady. This jealousy rose to such a height, that the private gentleman, accompanied by his servants, one day waylaid his cousin the officer; and finding him without arms, or any means of defence, ordered him to be horse-

whipped by a negro. To this affront he was obliged to submit; but after he had received the stripes, he laid hold of his beard, and told the aggressor, that such an atrocious injury should not be forgotten. The other perfectly understood the meaning of his sign and expressions; and immediately absconded for the space of three years.

“ At the expiration of that period, thinking his cousin's rage must have subsided, he returned to his estate; but never ventured abroad but in the same litter with his sister, supposing she would be his protection from the cavalier; who, from the time that he was horsewhipped, never appeared more in the regiment, never heard mass, and never shaved his beard, having solemnly sworn he would do neither till he had wiped off his disgrace. All the while he was skulking about the country in the dress of a hermit; and having found that his cousin was returned to his country house, he got together some companions, and attacked him one evening near his own home, while his sister was in the litter with him. Stopping the vehicle, he politely desired the lady to alight, as he had some business to settle with her brother; and as soon as she complied, he drew a pistol from his sleeve, and shot his cousin through the head, discharging a second through his heart, as he lay weltering in his blood.

“ With the most perfect sang froid, he then asked a thousand pardons of the lady for interrupting her; and begged to know whither she wished to be conducted. She told him to a certain nunnery, about ten miles off, where, having safely lodged her, he took his leave.

“ This done, he returned to his regiment, reported himself again fit for duty, dressed and ap-

peared on the parade as usual; and made no secret of the horrid transaction in which he had been engaged. The nobility justified and applauded him; and observed that a man of birth and education could do no less, to vindicate his reputation.

“ Mean time my friend, the colonel of the regiment, received the whole process and depositions relative to the murder, on which the civil magistrate of the district is by law enjoined to proceed within a limited time; and if the delinquent is in the army, the magistrate then remits the process, duly signed and sealed, to the commanding officer of the regiment, in order to his being there tried according to the articles of war.

“ As soon as it was known that the colonel of the regiment had received the process, a nobleman of this city, knowing the intimate footing I was on with the commanding officer, came to me, requesting a strong letter of empenho to him, desiring that he would by no means proceed to a court martial against the culprit, who, he said, was a nobleman, and had behaved in this affair like a man of honour; and that besides, he was nearly related to his wife, who joined in soliciting this favour of me.

“ I was sensible it was in vain to argue this matter with him, so strong are prejudices here, and so rooted are false notions of honour and courage. However, I could not refrain from telling him my opinion of it: which I assured him would be that of my friend the colonel also. I told him, that a person who was guilty of such a dastardly murder, ought to be hunted from society; and that I was certain, should the gates of hell open before the eyes of my friend, the command-

ing officer, he would not shrink from his duty, nor regard empenhos.

"The nobleman coolly replied, Mr. Consul, you are well acquainted with the manners and prejudices of this country, and every country has its prejudices. You know there is no resisting a letter of empenho, even to a beggar, and much less to a person of my rank and consequence; that supposing my wife's relation to be really the wretch you paint him, he has for that very reason the more need of protection; that a man of virtue and probity has sufficient security in his own character; and that, when I once grant my interest and protection even to a criminal of the blackest dye, the question runs no more on the merits or demerits of the party; but it is whether or not my authority is to be regarded or respected by the person I apply to, and in whose power it is to protect that criminal from the rigour of the law."

"I continued to assure him, that my letter would be of no use in this case: 'no matter for that,' said he, 'give it me—the rest will be at your friend, the colonel's peril.' Such gentlemen, added the consul, is a true and home example of the nature of an empenho. The criminal, after a long imprisonment, at the commencement of the present reign, was not only pardoned, but restored to his rank." On this miserable prostitution of justice and right, it is needless to make any remarks!

Having satisfied their curiosity in the city and environs, they resolved to take a more distant excursion into the country; and directed their course, first to Villa de Conde, The whole province  
 ed better peopled and cultivated than any

Other they had seen in Portugal ; probably arising from the spirit of commerce at Oporto, which spreads over the whole.

The convent of nuns was the only object at Villa de Conde worth notice. In it the best female blood of the province resides ; for the nobility being miserably poor and proud, rather than match their daughters with those beneath them, force them into this convent, to starve in character, regardless of their inclinations.

Remounting their horses, they took the road to the ancient city of Braga, the Bracara Augusta of the Romans, which lies about six leagues from the coast. The road was pleasant, and chiefly lined with the dwarf oak, entwined with the vine. The plains between the high grounds were regularly divided by quickset hedges, and well stocked with cattle grazing.

As they approached Braga, the beauty of its situation, on a fine rising ground, struck them exceedingly, and they imagined it must be a large and populous place in itself. On entering it, however, they were completely undeceived ; for except in a few streets, where some hatters and nailors were at work, every thing wore the appearance of melancholy stillness and quiet, ill according with the character of a thriving city.

A feeble attempt had been made to introduce the silk manufactory here ; but it failed for want of support.

The consul, who was their attendant in this excursion, introduced them to one of the canons of the great cathedral, with whom they supped. They found him to be one of the most liberal minded ecclesiastics they had ever met with in a Catholic country. He was exceedingly scrupulous indeed  
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in repeating his canonical hours, and other daily lessons of his Breviary; but not to lose time, he would mumble them over at intervals, when the conversation in company was not very interesting, or in short when he had nothing more agreeable to engage him. He professed his aversion to the celibacy of the clergy, and in practice disowned it in effect. A fine young woman at the head of his table was known to be his own daughter, though she went under the common appellation of niece. He owned that he had three sons in the army, and that the fourth was intended to fill his own place. Before he was a father, he said he never loved society so well, nor interested himself so much in its happiness; and that, in fact, he was become a better man and a better subject since he had contracted the endearing ties of children, though he could not publicly acknowledge them.

From Braga they proceeded to Guimaraens, an inland town, distant three leagues, remarkable for nothing but because it was the origin and first seat of Portuguese royalty, where their first king, Don Affonso Henriques, was born, in 1109.

In their return to Braga, as they were descending the mountain called Falperra, they had a noble view of the city, and of a beautiful country round it. On this sight the consul observed, what a difference there was between it now and when it was the capital of the kings of the Suevi, who for ages had possessed extensive power in that part of Spain.

On their arrival at Braga, the consul found a letter from Porto, inclosing one for Lord Freeman, from Lisbon, in which he received notice that his mistress, Donna Lucretia, had just landed  
from

from England; and that her father and a rich Brazil merchant were engaged in a treaty of marriage respecting her.

Spurred by this intelligence, they soon after returned to Oporto, and after a farewell entertainment, they took leave of all their friends there, except the consul, who accompanied them next morning to a nobleman's house; where he had sent previous notice they intended to have the honour of dining.

At the head of the table sat two young ladies, wrapped up in baize cloaks; and the gentlemen, to the number of a dozen, appeared in the same mean dress, having all cloaks over their waistcoats. The most decent looking persons, indeed, at table, were three Capuchin friars, who had on new habits, which stunk so abominably of oil, that our countrymen were nearly suffocated. Yet in this shabby company, the word *excellencia* was bandied about from the one to the other, in a manner that excited the laughter of the strangers, when they contemplated the appearance of the persons to whom it was applied.

Dinner being over, they took an affectionate leave of the consul, and continued their journey near five leagues farther on the road to Coimbra. Their horses being quite tired, and being impatient to get on, it was now proposed to ride post on asses. In all the towns and villages on the road, between Porto and Santarem, they found miserable little asses constantly to be hired, which ran like lightning to the next town; but not a step farther would they go. This mode of travelling is at the rate of two pence for a Portuguese league, or not quite three farthings an English mile.

Next day they reached Coimbra, to dinner. This is an university, and is situated on a hill, near the river Mondego, over which is a very long, low bridge. Some English families reside here. This city is famous for its curious cups and boxes of horn.

At the inn where they stopped, in the street of St. Sophia, which is full of churches and convents, they could find nothing to eat ; and though very sharp set by hunger, were engaging a calash driver to carry them to Santarem, when they were accosted by a tall thin gentleman, in the dress of an officer, who told them that, understanding they were Englishmen, and that they were at a loss for a dinner, he should be happy in their company to take a share of his. This kind offer they readily accepted. They soon discovered, from the dress, complexion, and accent of the officer's lady, that she was a native of Germany ; and it appeared from her conversation, that she was not very partial to her adopted country, nor to her own private situation in it. They had a very fine little boy, into whose hands Lord Freeman slipped a purse at parting : and resuming their journey on asses, next day reached Santarem, where they found Lord Freeman's servant ready, waiting with a six-oared barge to convey them to Lisbon.

To form any tolerable idea of Lisbon, it is necessary to imagine an extent of shore on a spacious river, capable of receiving every kind of shipping, and pouring its waters immediately into the Atlantic Ocean. With regard to its local situation, it is far preferable to any other on the continent of Europe, for an extended commerce with all parts of the earth, particularly with

**America.** In a word, when we consider the salubrity of the climate, the natural productions of the country, and other advantages, we are filled with admiration, and confess how bountiful nature has been ; but at the same time feel, how little her munificent gifts have been improved.

Reckoning from the villages of Pedrouços and Belem, on the shore below the city, to which they are now joined by a continuation of buildings, Lisbon reaches along the beach from six to seven English miles, with a great variety of breadths towards the country, on the high grounds, which generally rise one behind the other, though there are some valleys between. The principal is that on which stands the fine street, called the Rua Augusta, overlooked on one side by the Castle of Lisbon, and on the other by a quarter of the city called Bairro Alto, which possessing an elevated situation, enjoys an endless variety of prospects, from the different positions of the houses.

This city is built on seven steep hills, in which respect it resembles ancient Rome, though there is certainly no other familiarity between them. The streets are very ill paved, with small sharp stones ; and at night, as they are not lighted, it is by no means advisable to walk about alone.

The high commanding grounds, in or about the city, are entirely occupied with chapels, churches, and large extensive convents ; which, with their gardens, orchards, and vineyards, consume a vast deal of space, and give a fallacious appearance of extent.

All the streets, laid out and built since the terrible earthquake on the 1st of November 1755, are straight, regular, and mostly spacious, running at right angles to each other. The houses are generally two or three stories high, with no other

chimney but that of the kitchen. They are built of a kind of coarse marble, and have iron balconies and wooden lattices to the ground floor; but are little remarkable for architectural beauty.

After the sad catastrophe of Lisbon, the Marquis of Pombal and his architect, M. Mardel, laid out the general plan of the new city; and while that minister was in power, the buildings were carried on with great spirit, according to the original design; but immediately on the accession of the present queen, a stop was put to some useful public structures, and the workmen were taken off to build a new convent of vast extent and expence, dedicated to the Heart of Jesus, and intended for the reception of nuns. This convent certainly never entered into the contemplation of Pombal; and indeed, it runs exactly across the great avenue or road he intended should lead from the city to the new palace.

The Marquis of Pombal, who, with all his faults, was certainly a character much superior to the generality of his countrymen, made the rebuilding of the city his favourite object for many years. On this he lavished money freely, and spared no pains in taking care that the public buildings should be as commodious and magnificent as possible.

The great square in which the principal public structures were erected, he called *Plaza de Comercio*, or the place of trade. This square he considered as the great residential theatre of the whole trade of Portugal with foreign nations, as well as with its own colonies, and where all the great causes, in civil and criminal justice, were to be heard and decided. In the centre, is an equestrian statue of the late king, the pedestal of which being of one single stone, is so extremely ponderous,

rous, that it is said to have required eighty yoke of oxen to drag it from the quarry.

Mr. Costigan says, that from observation as well as enquiries, he is convinced the old city did not cover above one half of the ground that the present does; at the same time that the number of inhabitants was nearly equal at both periods.

During some centuries, after Portugal became an independent state, Lisbon must have been still more confined in its extent, as it was entirely surrounded by a high wall, flanked with towers, in the style of all the great Moorish cities. From inspection, at present, nothing can be conceived more incommodious than the excessive narrowness of the old streets, their sudden and irregular turnings and windings, their great declivity, and the impossibility of using any wheel carriages in them. The houses likewise projected in such a manner, that the inhabitants of the upper apartments could literally shake hands from the opposite side of the street, by which means the light of the sun was excluded, and a fresh current of air effectually stopped. Such was the situation of Lisbon before the earthquake; and these inconveniences, added to a total want of cleanliness, may very satisfactorily account for the plague having sometimes visited this place.

Immediately after their arrival in Lisbon, a Colonel Priolet, and the chaplain of the British factory waited on them, to make a tender of their civilities, in shewing them the place. Next morning they sallied out to take a view of the city, whose romantic situation on hills and valleys, descending to the banks of a majestic river, full of shipping, produces such a variety of picturesque

picturesque views at every new station, as are extremely captivating. Indeed, every distant prospect is as eminently beautiful, as the spot immediately under the eye is nauseous and disgusting. In fact, the streets are never thoroughly cleaned, although there is an established contract with scavengers. Every sort of filth is discharged in the night, and often in the day, into the streets; which would be much more nauseous than they really are, were not almost every thing devoured by swarms of starving dogs. It is, however, impossible to walk the city without having the olfactory nerves very sensibly offended.

It may be supposed, that Lord Freeman was not long before he had an interview with his beloved Donna Lucretia. Our author conducts his hero at last to the altar; but through all the intricacies and obstacles that excite interest in a modern novel, and very little in the style of a sober traveller. We therefore reject all this part of his work, as being neither illustrative of manners nor place in any particular degree; and only accompany him through such situations and details, as are calculated to give a proper idea of the country and people.

The first visit to the Marquis of Pancorvo, the father of Donna Lucretia, is thus described:

Their arrival was announced by three or four tolls of a bell, which hung near the porter's apartment. Four men appeared in shabby liveries, and after several very low bows, walked solemnly before them up stairs, and then delivered them over to two elderly men in regimentals, who conducted them in the same ceremonious manner through two large rooms, with white walls,

walls, into a third hung with old arras, where they begged they would be seated.

The apartment was large, lofty, and gloomy. The windows were without glass, and were shaded with crimson damask curtains, which likewise concealed the doors. After waiting about fifteen minutes, the beautiful Donna Lucretia bolted from behind one of the curtains. She was in a loose flowing dress of Indian stuff; her hair was fancifully disposed, and her whole appearance was angelic.

Soon after, the marchioness, preceded by the two gentlemen in uniforms, and supported by a third in full dress, walked gravely into the room. She was tall and thin, but looked like a woman of fashion, and had the remains of beauty. Lord Freeman and our author were introduced to her as strangers; she received them with politeness, and apologized for her speaking such indifferent English, from want of practice. A beautiful rosary was twisted about her left arm, to the end of which was attached a sparkling diamond cross.

Immediately after, his excellency, the marquis, made his appearance, ushered in with the usual ceremony. He was a fat little man, labouring under his own weight, and every motion indicated effort. He had just risen from his festa, and had on a light cloak, under which he wore a scarlet waistcoat, with long flaps, which depended to his knees. His head was covered with a fine cap, bordered with Brussels lace.

On the strangers being presented to him, he shook them by the hand, and laughed heartily; assuring them that he was overjoyed to see them; and that they might command every thing in his power.



He then took a chair, being fatigued with his compliments, and ordered some liquid sweetmeats, which he washed down with a large glass of water.

In a short time the servants introduced tea and chocolate, and one of them whispered the marquis, on which, making an apology to the company of business, he went out, and returned no more. His place was, however, soon supplied by his son, the Viscount Baldiorra, with his friend and companion, Father Dominic. The old lady's countenance seemed to brighten up at the appearance of her son. Lord Freeman endeavoured to enter into conversation with him; but he bluntly told him, that he understood neither French nor English, and then turned to his favourite Dominic.

The general conversation was far from being interesting; and after a short time they took their leave. On the first Friday of Lent, there is always a great general procession here, in commemoration of our Saviour's being led out of Jerusalem, bearing his cross. Our countrymen having dined in the vicinity, went on the eve of that procession to the church of St. Roque, to see the king, queen, and court kiss the feet of our Lord, as is customary on that occasion.

The figure of our Saviour was much larger than life, and was kneeling on one knee, and rising on the other leg, in the act of lifting up the heavy cross laid on its shoulders. It was set out in the middle of the church, ready to be carried in a kind of private procession, that evening, to the church of the Convent of Grace, from whence the grand procession was to move next day; and those who were to accompany it, only waited the

arrival of the court to pay their devotions, before they set out.

Meanwhile the sacrifician, for a small fee, carried our countrymen to survey the miraculous image. After having kissed its foot, he shewed them a deep wound in the leg, which a Jew had given it with a knife, on being permitted to approach it, under pretence of adoration. The sacrifician assured them, that the knife of this infamous Israelite pierced deep into the leg, the same as if it had been actual flesh, and that there issued from the wound a quantity of blood, which was carefully preserved at that time, and annually exposed on the great altar, for the veneration of the faithful.

He then shewed the mark of teeth on another part of the leg, which he affirmed happened in the subsequent manner. An Infidel Moor coming to Lisbon on some business, a zealous Dominican friar undertook to convert him. After many squabbles and arguments, for and against the Christian religion, the Moor attacked his antagonist most severely on the article of images, which the Mahometans detest.

The friar, to support the authority of the holy Roman church, told him what happened to this image, when the Jew stabbed it; to which the other replied he did not believe it, and desired to be shewn the mark. Accordingly the next day, the friar conducted him to the church for that purpose, and the Mahometan approaching his face, as if to examine the wound more attentively, gave the leg a bite, when, to his utter confusion and astonishment, he found it was warm flesh, which yielded to his teeth, and they entered deep into it.

The same Moor, the legend reports, was immediately baptized, and served many years afterwards as under sacristan of this very church, and died in the greatest odour of sanctity. The marks of teeth are certainly very visible, whether from such a cause, we leave our readers to determine. Be that as it may, the image has ever since been held in the highest veneration; and so much respected, that the royal family and the court came yearly on the eve of the procession, to worship it; which ceremony they devoutly performed on this occasion, to the great edification of numerous spectators.

After their majesties and the court had retired, and the procession had left the church, the sacristan led them to see the famous chapel of St. John the Baptist, which king John V. had procured to be made at Rome at an enormous expence. In order to consecrate it, the pope said the first mass in it there, after which it was taken to pieces, carefully packed up, and brought hither with the same artificers to put it up again.

After examining this chapel, which is full of Mosaic paintings, and decorated with a magnificent gold lamp, and two very massy silver gilt candlesticks, the sacristan led them to the great altar, where, drawing aside a long damask curtain, they discovered a magnificent image of the Virgin, with the child Jesus in her arms. The Virgin was most splendidly dressed in robes of gold; and a crown, ornamented with large stones of various colours, encircled her head. She was mounted on a crescent, and all around her were painted stars in gold, on an azure ground. Her style or title was the Lady of the Empyræum.

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The child held a small globe in one hand, and a sceptre in the other.

The sacristan assured them, that the child in the Virgin's arms grew sensibly every year; that they cut his finger and toe nails frequently, the parings whereof had been carefully preserved; and he farther affirmed, referring, for the truth of it, to the register of the church, that about two hundred years ago, the child used to descend from its mother's arms, at the invitation of two children of its own size, who then came into the church to visit it; and that they had often been seen together eating their afternoon's repast on the steps of the altar; that afterwards the child Jesus informed them they should be called to heaven on the next ascension day, which happened accordingly, and they were both found dead on their knees before the Virgin, with their hands joined in the attitude of prayer. Their relics were carefully deposited under the same altar, and an annual festival was instituted in commemoration of such a miracle.

The sacristan next shewed them a famous crucifix, which was brought and delivered to Father Montoya, by the hands of angels; and asserted that it had often been heard in conversation with this venerable priest.

Though the sacristan evidently spoke no more than he had been taught to believe, and what other good Catholics do believe, he was evidently disordered in his senses. It appeared he belonged to a family of great distinction; but having, when young, committed a murder, accompanied with many aggravating circumstances, to save his family from disgrace, he had been permitted to escape to Rome, where he long did penance

nance on the steps of St. Peter's, till he at last obtained his pardon, and was sent back with commendatory letters for the office of sacristan of this church.

Several of the other churches of Lisbon deserve notice from the curious. The patriarchal church, as it is called, stands on the top of one of the seven hills on which Lisbon is built. The great altar is placed under the dome, and has a canopy over it, supported by four spirally twisted columns of gilt wood. In this structure is a very large organ, with horizontal pipes. Indeed most of the organs in Spain and Portugal are built in that manner.

At the Marquis of Villa Nova's levee, our author met with several persons attending for redress, who gave the history of their particular hardships. Some of them shew the turpitude of the Portuguese character in the blackest light. We lay the narrative of one or two suppliants to that minister before our readers.

An officer, to whom they were introduced by Colonel Priolet, gave the following extraordinary account of himself.

“ I was lieutenant colonel in one of the regiments at Goa, in the East Indies, about nine years ago; when a troop of the plundering Mharatta Indians came down from the mountains of Gatte, and rifled some of the plantations on the main land, about three leagues from the island on which Goa stands.

The viceroy, thinking it his duty to chastise such a piece of insolence, ordered a detachment of two hundred men to be ready on the parade in the evening for that purpose. As soon his intentions were known, numerous were the applica-  
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tions for the command of this party; but from his excellency's partiality for me, I was appointed to this business; and had a sealed paper put into my hands, which I was not to open till I had passed the ferry, and marched a league into the country.

I accordingly proceeded to execute my commission in darkness and silence, when my advanced guard soon began firing, after we passed the ferry; and convinced me that an enemy was at hand. Some of the shot coming among my men, they instantly threw down their arms in a panic, and calling on our Lady of Assistance, made their escape, and all arrived safe at the garriſon, but without their arms. Next morning about ten, I reached the same place, when the viceroy ordered me into arrest for breach of duty, and to be tried by a court martial, which he ordered to assemble. I had now leisure to open my instructions, which the flight of my men prevented my doing the night before. They were couched in the following terms:

“ The two generals in chief of this expedition, are St. Francis Xavier, of the Indies, and St. Anthony of Lisbon; under their orders Lieutenant Colonel Manoel Pessinga Tinoco will march with two hundred men, to chastise the insolence of the Mharattas, according to the directions he shall receive from his superior officers, and in obedience to their commands.”

My counsel, to whom I shewed these instructions, advised me to stand on my defence before the court martial, by alleging, I was not answerable for the success of an expedition of which I had not the principal command; and that the two saints, and not I, ought to be summoned be-  
fore

fore the court. I did so ; and made it evidently appear, that I had never received any commands either from saint or man, but those in that paper, which evidently pointed to future orders to be communicated.

In consequence of this representation, the court martial reported me not guilty. Yet the viceroy was not satisfied : he still kept me a prisoner, and in this situation I remained for three years, without pay or other means of subsistence, till a new viceroy was sent from Europe ; with orders, as usual, to send home his predecessor in irons. This, however, did not mend my fortune ; I was sent home prisoner likewise ; and being a native of Brazil, when I landed in Portugal, I had neither money nor friend ; and had it not been for the charitable fathers of the convent of the Deliverance of Alcantara, who have furnished me with a dinner for these five years, I must have perished of want. I have been dangling attendance so long without effect ; yet still wait the issue of my memorials with holy patience, trusting in our Lady of the Deliverance for a good dispatch."

Another gentleman told a still more extraordinary and lamentable tale. His father, it appeared, was a respectable country gentleman, of the province of Entre Doura e Minho, and made annually a considerable quantity of wine, which he sold to an English merchant at Oporto. This gentleman, happy amidst his family and his friends, was taken up one night, by the court of inquisition, on some unknown charge, and all his property confiscated ; though he had always been reckoned as good a Catholic as any in Portugal.

His

His son, the narrator of his father's fate, was furnished by the English merchant with money, to enable him to go to court, to solicit his father's enlargement, and to endeavour to procure justice. After labouring for twelve months to no sort of purpose, as no one would enter into dispute with the holy office, or could penetrate into its secrets, he returned to Oporto ; and offered his services to the merchant, to assist him in the management of his wine business, as the only return he could make him. Eight years had nearly elapsed, when he one day received a letter from the son of a person who had been the author of all their calamities, though it had never been suspected before ; saying, that his father lay at the point of death, and earnestly requested an interview before he expired.

The young gentleman immediately set off, and on entering the room, found the dying man surrounded by his confessor and several priests. " You will remember," said he to him, " that while I was one day riding along the road that runs through your estate, and stopped hard by a cross, fixed at the corner of one of your fields, your father and you were then beating and killing a large serpent, which had twisted itself about the foot of the cross. It happened soon after, that your father was called upon to make some depositions, which unknowingly affected me. In revenge, I suborned witnesses who swore, before the court of inquisition, that your father had made it a frequent practice, to come out in the morning early, and beat that cross with his cane, and spit upon it ; in consequence of which he was taken up, though entirely innocent of the charge. This is what I wished to communicate, and it is of this that, with my dying breath, I beg



your pardon, the pardon of God, and of all the good Catholic Christians here present."

Having procured an attested copy of this confession, the son set out with pleasure to procure the liberation of his father, which he did not doubt he should now accomplish. The act of faith, however, was not to be celebrated for some time; and he was, therefore, obliged to wait. At last it took place; the names of the accused were called over, in the great hall of the inquisition. Their different crimes and sentences were read by the secretary of the tribunal. He in vain tried to recognise his father among this miserable group. His name was, however, called, and he was declared innocent; but judge what his feelings were, when, on making farther enquiry, he found that he had died in the prisons of the inquisition, three years before!

From that time he had remained soliciting the recovery of his estate, tossed between the secretary of state and the inquisitor general, without any prospect of seeing a period to his pretensions, as his property still remained in the possession of the holy office. Such are the baleful effects of superstition and tyranny!

Having visited almost every thing worth seeing in the city, and the immediate environs, they began to think of a few more distant excursions. Many situations they found delightful by nature, and that they only wanted a little assistance from art, to convert them into an elysium.

They had heard much of the aqueduct before they saw it; and perhaps this made it in some measure disappoint their expectations. It is, however, a noble work, and has the immense utility of conducting a fine stream to the city, which,

which, before its erection, was perishing for want of this necessary element. It passes over the vale of Alcantara, uniting two hills. The arches in this part are thirty-five in number, of which fourteen are very large; and some of them three hundred and thirty-two feet high. There are ten smaller arches near the city, and many more of still inferior dimensions near the source. The water is emptied into a large reservoir, at one of the extremities of Lisbon.

The whole pile was erected in 1748; and providentially received no damage from the earthquake in 1755. It is constructed of a kind of white marble. The pillars which support the arches are square, and the largest measure thirty-three feet each side, at the base.

The outlets of the city are rendered less pleasant by the high stone walls, which every where surround the orchards and vineyards, and intercept the prospect. Farther on, the country is agreeably diversified with groves of orange and lemon trees, intermixed with olive and vineyards. The roads are bordered with aloes, which, when in blossom, make a singular appearance in the eyes of the natives of a colder climate, where they blow so rarely.

From Lisbon to Cintra are five leagues, over a rough pavement of large stones. But the end of the journey richly compensates for the labour of reaching it. Here the air is charmingly cool, and nature, undisguised by art, exhibits her enchanting beauties without control.

Our author was delighted with the stupendous rocks, wildly interspersed with wood and water. The ancients called this place Promontorium Lunæ, or the Promontory of the Moon; and no

spot could give a nearer, or more distinct view of that luminary than where the temple of Cynthia stood, from whence comes the modern appellation Cintra. This place, however, is now occupied by a convent of dull ignorant monks, who are so far from contemplating the beauty of the heavens, for which their situation furnishes such a fine opportunity, that they are bound, by a vow of professional humility and obedience, never to lift their eyes from the earth. The prospect is boundless, from this almost inaccessible spot; and presents nothing but an assemblage of beauties.

From Cintra, they crossed the country to the town of Oeyras, where stands the country palace of the late minister, the Marquis of Pombal, not far from the castle of St. Julian, which they also visited. The marquis's house is a very large, but irregular, building, with many fine apartments, containing some well-executed family portraits.

The gardens are very extensive, but laid out in a very bad taste, or rather in a taste of studied economy; it being evidently the intention to turn every thing to profit. They are full of orange, lemon, and mulberry trees, with a large building for silk worms. On one side of the garden is a wine press, with all the necessary conveniences, and adjoining a noble wine cellar.

The castle of St. Julian, in this vicinity, is an irregular pentagon, founded on the solid rock, the base of which is washed by the sea. It is strongly garrisoned, and planted with two hundred and five large brass cannon. Opposite to this castle is a smaller one, on the other bank of the river.

They

They made another excursion to the royal convent and palace of Mafra, about thirty miles from Lisbon. The first part of the road is through a fine romantic country, producing orange, lemon, olive, mulberry, cypress, and palm trees. The country is well cultivated, and produces abundant crops.

The last part of the journey assumes an upland aspect, and the inclosures are formed of loose stones, rudely piled on each other. To the left is a view of Cape Roque, and to the right the royal park, three leagues in circumference, surrounded by a high wall.

The palace is situated near the small village of Mafra, and is constructed of a species of white marble. It contains thirty-seven windows in front, and forms a square of about seven hundred and thirty feet. The church is placed in the centre, having the palace on one side, and the convent on the other.

The flight of stairs before the building is peculiarly grand; and under the portico, at the entrance, are twelve colossal statues of saints, of tolerable workmanship. The portico is of two distinct orders of architecture, each of six columns; the first Ionic, the other Composite.

The architect of this fabric was John Frederics, a German. It was begun in 1717, and finished in 1731. The convent contains three hundred cells, each of twenty feet by eighteen. The new library is three hundred and eighty-one palms in length, and forty-three in breadth. In the whole edifice, it is said, there are eight hundred and seventy rooms, and five thousand two hundred windows. The floors are of brick, well laid; but

little of the palace is furnished; as it is seldom honoured with the royal residence.

On each side of the church is a tower, and in each tower forty-eight bells, which compose a set of chimes, or what the French call *carillon*. The ascent is by one hundred and sixty-two steps. The church is adorned with a cupola of the Corinthian order, with a gallery running round the inside of it. There are six altars, over each of which is a marble basso relievo. There are also six organs, and some few paintings.

They found a good inn at Mafra; and were agreeably entertained by seeing the landlord and landlady dance the fandango to the music of the guitar. It seems, this dance is almost as great a favourite in Portugal as in Spain.

The palace of Belem, about five miles from Lisbon, is a mean wooden edifice, and contains scarcely a single object, within or without, to detain a person of taste.

The palace of Caluz is also built of wood, but is extremely elegant as to furniture and decorations. The saloon of audience is paved with marble, and panelled with mirrors. The concert room is two hundred feet long; and its ceiling is very magnificent. In one room the history of Don Quixote is represented in eighteen compartments. In another are various paintings, representing young children, almost in a state of nudity, except some whimsical modesty pieces. Behind this palace is a large garden, with a delightful labyrinth.

Though there is an Italian theatre, and another for Portuguese plays, at Lisbon, the pious queen, says Mr. Costigan, does not permit any public exhibition

exhibition of this kind, which she considers as a school of immorality; much less would she suffer women to perform on the stage, because of the indecency of the appearance; for the principal object here is to obviate public scandal, which is more attended to than a real regard to the inherent principles of virtue.

Our countrymen were invited one day to dine at a nobleman's country house, with the British envoy, and several other persons of note. During dinner, and especially during the dessert, the motes and the glozas flew about the room in abundance. This is a kind of *improvisatori*, carried on in the following manner;

In large social companies, the wit who intends to exhibit, if in conversation with a lady, lays hold of any short sentence she happens to utter, and repeating it, calls out, *La vay*, which is to advertise the meeting, that he is going to gloze that sentence, which is called his *môte*, or text. He then makes some verses extempore, having reference to that sentence, most frequently containing some extravagant compliment to the lady herself, or some one present. The verses must be so disposed as to make good sense; not only with the *môte* or sentence fixed on; but if ingeniously handled, the whole turn of the wit and emphasis of the verses must fall on that sentence, which likewise, of necessity, is to close the stanza.

This is unquestionably an elegant amusement, and sometimes affords great entertainment to the rest of the company.

At table were two friars, who, laying aside their usual austerity, seemed entirely devoted to wit, mirth, and good humour; and one of them even plied his glass so heartily, that the effects of

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it were perfectly visible before the dessert was over; and before the whole company rose from table, he was conducted to bed reeling, to the great scandal of the company; for a drunkard here is held in the utmost contempt and abhorrence; and to stigmatize a man for this beastly quality, is reckoned equal to the bitterest reproach that can be bestowed in the English language.

On the contrary, nothing is more common than to give and receive the lie reciprocally, in serious as well as jocular discourse, without any sort of offence being taken. Such are the opposite customs of different nations, even on the little continent of Europe; and this should teach us not to be surprised at finding a still greater difference in remoter regions.

The subsequent anecdote will prove how easily the lie is borne, even by military men. During the war of 1762, a gentleman raised a troop of horse at his own expence; and, in return, he received the rank of captain in the army. In his troop was a fine Spanish horse, to which Major Luttrell, of Burgoyne's light horse, took a particular fancy, and wished to purchase it. The price was accordingly fixed, before witnesses, at sixty moidores; but before the horse was delivered, the captain changed his mind; and sent to inform the major, that he would not part with him under eighty.

The English officer, justly provoked at such a glaring breach of integrity, waited on the captain, with his interpreter, as not understanding the language of the country, and desired him to be questioned as to the previous contract they had made. The Portuguese officer assented to the truth

truth of all he urged, as to the original terms; but avowed, that he receded from them, because the horse was too cheap, and declared, that he would not part with him for less than eighty moidores.

The major then desired him to be told, that by his infamous behaviour he had shewn himself to be a liar, a rascal, and a scoundrel. At this the Portuguese shrugged up his shoulders, and replied, he was sorry that the gentleman should take offence where none was intended; but added, that he would not part with the horse on any other terms.

On finding this to be the case, the major ordered him to be acquainted, that in France or England, if it happened that one officer bestowed such epithets as he had just done on him, the officer so grossly insulted, would be under the necessity of calling out, and fighting the person who had provoked him.

The captain still preserved his sang froid, and very deliberately replied to the interpreter, that what the gentleman said might be very true, for aught he knew to the contrary; but that he saw no good reason for preferring the practice of foreigners, in the present instance, to that of his own country; that if he considered himself as affronted, he should never be such a fool or a madman, as, by calling out his antagonist, to offer him an equal chance of taking his own life, while he knew of a safer and more certain method of obtaining such satisfaction as he should judge adequate to the injury he received. In other words, "by stabbing him unawares, or by hiring assassins to do so." Such is the point of honour in Portugal!

We



We have already mentioned, that there was no public exhibition of plays allowed when Mr. Costigan was here; however, they were present at a performance before the court, which fully satisfied them as to the low state of the Portuguese theatrical amusements.

The theatre was gorgeously fitted up with crimson damask, and a profusion of gold and silver mock lace. The front row of boxes were full of ladies. The hair was done up in a wonderful variety of plaits and braids, with much taste, and without caps; but they had a quantity of beautiful flowers, both natural and artificial, which supplied their place, and which were richly intermixed with sprigs of diamonds, besides many breast knots, solitaires, and pendants of the same and other precious stones.

The performers were chiefly of the profession, collected for that purpose. The entertainment consisted of three parts. The first was a Portuguese comedy, intermixed with some extraordinary singing: the second was a most singular medley, resembling a Spanish puppet show; and the last was called a Spanish farce, or entremez.

The actors drawled out their words in a very disagreeable manner. To annalize the plot would be impossible. Low wit, smut, and ribaldry formed the principal part of the diversion; and the more gross or absurd any part was, the more it was relished by the company in general.

But, however ridiculous the Portuguese farces may be, which, at best, are only fancied representations, our author says, they are quite outdone by a piece of religious mummery which he witnessed here.

Some thieves having broke into a church, a few leagues from Lisbon, in running about in the dark for plate, happened to overturn, or break open, a pix, containing some consecrated wafers, which were found, next morning, strewed about on the ground near the altar, and some of them were missing.

When these circumstances were reported to the queen, they threw her into the deepest affliction: she was invisible for three days, and thought this profanation was much more terrible than all the earthquakes and misfortunes which had happened in her father's reign. A consultation was held with the gravest and most orthodox divines; and the whole court was ordered into deep mourning for nine days, at the end of which was a general procession from one great church to another, in which the queen and her attendants bore a part. By this ceremony, which is called a *Disaggravation*, it was seriously believed that the wrath of heaven would be averted; as if it were possible that there could be any connection between the Creator of the Universe and a wafer.

What a crowd of reflections does such flagrant and inveterate folly present to the consideration of every sensible and serious mind. Here we plainly see into what an indefinite train of gross, ludicrous, and impious situations this belief of the REAL PRESENCE must be continually bringing them. Comparing the Deity to that capricious tyrant, man, they think to appease every supposed insult that is offered him, as frightened and cringing slaves would the misplaced wrath of a despot; without reflecting, that he is all powerful to vindicate his own cause; and that he

he neither punishes through caprice, nor for involuntary faults.

In noblemen's houses, in this country, however large they may be, only a few of the apartments are commonly fitted up in any style. The rest are bare white walls, with brick or deal floors. Though the bed furniture is extremely gaudy, they have neither featherbed nor mattress; but only straw sewed up in coarse canvass.

In the bed-chambers of the women are some very low chairs; but they more frequently use mats, after the Moorish form, on which they squat on their hams. In the same manner they sit at church, except during the celebration of the mass, when they constantly kneel.

The expences of the interior economy of a Portuguese nobleman's family, are certainly as moderate, as they are excessive in every thing that regards external parade. Their numerous servants are supported by rations of boiled meat and rice, cut and divided into shares, on meat days; and of dry cod-fish and rice on days of abstinence. Wine is seldom wanted, and is brought, in small quantities, from the nearest tavern. Cold water is the principal beverage; and, at night, the smallest bit of cold meat, or a pilchard, with sallad, tempered with oil and vinegar, forms their supper.

In the morning, chocolate is the general breakfast. Sweetmeats are the grand luxury, at all hours, which render them disposed to drink large draughts of water. This blows them up, and gives an appearance of obesity; but their flesh is neither elastic nor solid.

Our countrymen were invited to a grand feast at the Marquis of Pancorvo's country house. The

company went in barges, very magnificently equipped; and, as they had full three leagues to row, they had time to enjoy this aquatic expedition.

Dinner was ready by the time of their arrival. The table consisted of fifty covers, with a couple of servants behind each chair. They had three regular services; the whole in massy old plate. Many of the servants were in uniforms, and others perfectly well dressed, with the collar and order of Christ hanging on their breast. During the entertainment, some pieces of music were played.

At the dessert, the music was continued; and some charming arrias were sung by the best voices from the patriarchal church. The windows of the apartment were on a level with the ground; and before them appeared a company of masks, dressed as shepherds and shepherdesses, with flowers, garlands, and all the other insignia of pastoral life, and dancing to music.

When they ceased, two men, and as many women, danced the fandango to the guitar, with castagnettes; and môtes and glozas began within.

Their return was by moon-light, and nothing could be more delightful than this water scene. Our countrymen's barge was carried a considerable way out of the course by the rapidity of the current, against which the Algarve rowers strove in vain. On this, one of them, who seemed to be a humourist, called for St. Anthony, the patron of the vessel, with whom he entered into a supplicating kind of address, to procure a favourable breeze; but as the saint was deaf to his entreaties, he soon began to abuse him in the grossest

terms, calling him blockhead, coxcomb, and cuckold, with other hard names.

Neither good nor bad language availing, a collection was made, because St. Anthony seldom did any thing without alms. "As soon as my gossip hears the tinkling of money in his box, we shall have a wind directly," said the fellow. The saint, however, was still slow to hear, and he was even threatened with stabbing. At last, a breeze sprang up; and St. Anthony was seriously advised to be more indulgent in future, on pain of being degraded from his rank. They reached the quays of Santarem in safety, and got home about eleven at night, strongly amused with the variety of the day's entertainments.

The two cities of Lisbon and Porto may justly be considered as the two eyes of Portugal; for here centre the whole riches of the country, and all their trade with foreign nations, as well as with their own colonies.

A sensible Portuguese writer compares, not inaptly, the whole kingdom to one of that sort of spiders, which has a long body, with extremely long and feeble legs, reaching to a great distance, but which it is scarcely able to move. The benefits, indeed, of foreign trade, and of the fine and extensive regions possessed by Portugal in Africa and South America, have never yet reached the peasant of the mother country, any farther than by enabling the inhabitants of the two principal cities to pay a little advance on the provisions he brings to market. The only foreign luxury he is yet acquainted with, is tobacco; or a piece of dried Newfoundland cod-fish; but this last he seldom reaches. Bread, made of Indian corn, and a salted pilchard, or a head of garlick, compose

compose his standing meal ; for, except on grand festivals, he never aspires to flesh meat.

Habituated to penury in this world, and taught to look forward by his ghostly directors to ease and happiness in another, he submits to his fortune without a murmur or a complaint ; believes all that the priests teach, and pays his superstitious devotions with formal precision. If he has money enough to furnish a portion for putting his son or daughter into a religious house, this raises the credit of his family for ever ; and nothing is then wanting to give him a sort of apothecosis, but to bequeath, at his death, what little money he has left, to be divided among the priests, in saying masses to hasten him through purgatory. These degraded notions of religion serve to keep the Portuguese peasant in the most abject slavery, both civil and ecclesiastical. Hence an universal appearance of apathy and dejection in the poor. The ill-treated, but useful, labourer is shrivelled up at thirty ; and more particularly the female sex, at an age when they are only in their prime in other countries, are here marked with decay, and have all the appearance of walking spectres.

As there is little farther information respecting Portugal to be derived from Mr. Costigan ; to supply some deficiencies, and explain some circumstances that have only been slightly touched on, we subjoin a few additional remarks on the country, or the people, from the ingenious Mr. Twiss.

When that gentleman was in Lisbon, he tells us, that strolling about one day in search of new objects, he saw a singular scene, and indeed we are of his opinion : it was two men sitting in the street, with each a baboon on his shoulders, free-

ing his head from vermin ; in which occupation these animals are very dexterous. The owners of them are paid about a penny halfpenny a head for their cleansing it ; and, among such a filthy people as the Portuguese, this is no unprofitable business.

The chief order of knighthood in this country is that of Christ, instituted 1283. This order is almost indiscriminately conferred on any one who is a Roman Catholic, and is therefore disgraceful to wear it. Even valets, musicians, and tavern-keepers are decorated with it. The badge is a star on the left breast, and a small enamelled red cross, charged with a white one, hanging by a ribbon from the button hole.

Another order, is that of Avis, of still more ancient origin ; as it was instituted by their first King Alfonso, in 1147. The knights wear a small enamelled green cross fleurie at the button hole.

Numerous as the nobility are here, their titles are not hereditary ; but are conferred by the sovereign in the same manner as other personal honours. It is not infrequent for the son to have a title and the father none. However, titles are frequently confirmed to the next heir, though not assumed as a right.

The Portuguese have various kinds of coin, both in gold, silver, and copper. Accounts, however, are kept in reis, an imaginary denomination. The par is sixty-seven pence halfpenny sterling for one thousand reis. An English guinea passes, in Lisbon, for three thousand six hundred reis, which is nine pence less than its intrinsic value ; but this varies with the course of exchange.

It is difficult to ascertain the number of souls in Lisbon. Perhaps they may be estimated at half

half a million. About a fifth part of them are people of colour. The earthquake, in 1755, is said to have destroyed at least twenty thousand; but it was impossible to calculate this loss with any degree of exactitude.

The English factory is computed at six hundred persons. They have a burial ground in one of the skirts of the city, planted with walks of cypress trees, under which are the graves. Several tombs, erected to insignificant or unknown characters, have pompous inscriptions; while Henry Fielding, Esq. author of *Tom Jones*, who lies buried here, has not a line to record his name.

Four-wheeled carriages are not in common use in Lisbon, except among ambassadors and ministers. Two-wheeled machines generally supply their place. The ladies ride on burros, or jackasses, with a pack saddle. A servant attends them with a small stick to make the beast go faster, or to stop it by pulling the tail. Gentlemen ride on horses, and servants on mules.

Swords are only worn by well-dressed people; and all ornaments of gold and silver lace, or embroidery, are prohibited to both sexes. Their clothes, however, are often sufficiently expensive; and jewels are permitted without restriction.

Portugal produces corn, wine, oil, oranges of both kinds, lemons, citrons, pears, apples, cherries, figs, and an infinite variety of other fruits. The quadrupeds and birds are nearly the same as in England. The fish are salmon, soles, tench, lampreys, sturgeon, trout, and a great variety of other sorts, which are excellent eating.

The mines of Portugal are in little estimation. Though the ancients celebrated the golden sands



of the Tagus, and it is affirmed, that King John III. had a sceptre made out of the particles collected in that stream; yet neither gold nor silver, in any quantity worth collecting, is now found here. However, torquoises, amethysts, hyacinths, talc, mercury, amber, magnets, and different kinds of marble are produced here.

The Tagus is not navigable to any great distance above Lisbon, on account of the rocks and cataracts, which intersect its channel. A company of Dutch adventurers, above a century ago, offered to trace roads over the rocks, and to form dikes and sluices which would facilitate the passage of boats from Lisbon quite to Madrid, as they proposed also to render the river Mançanarès navigable, which falls into the Tagus. Several councils were held, both at Madrid and Lisbon, to take their plan into consideration, and to report their opinion on its propriety. The conclusion of their deliberations is worthy of recording: it is thus given by Colmenares:

“ If God,” observed those wise men, “ had been willing to have those two rivers navigable, he did not want the assistance of men to render them so; because he was able to produce such an effect by a single fiat. Now, as he has not done it,” (for they argued logically) “ it follows, that he did not think proper to do it; so that it would be contradicting his providence to endeavour to rectify what he appears to have left imperfect, for reasons best known to himself.”

The windmills in this kingdom, as well as those of Spain, are about seven feet high; and of very simple construction. The millstone is placed horizontally, and the sails almost touch the ground. This mode of building presented an easy

easy opportunity to Don Quixote to attack such monsters: whereas, had he been in England or Holland, he would have found it, from their height, a much more difficult business.

The dress of the common people is a large cloak and slouched hat; and under the cloak they generally carry a dagger, though prohibited, the blade of which is of such excellent temper, that it will strike through a crown piece.

The women wear no caps, but tie a piece of silk network over their hair, with a long tassel behind, and a bow knot over their forehead. This ornament for the head is called Redecilla, and is worn indiscriminately by both sexes. The gentry, however, dress entirely in the French or English fashion.

The ladies of distinction wear very large and heavy pendants in their ears; and the sleeves of their gowns are generally large enough for their waists. Large nosegays are much in use with the fair sex in Portugal. They are extremely lively; and are fond of dancing, singing, laughing, and talking, to the last degree. In short, they answer Voltaire's description, who says, "that ladies in southern climates have mercury in their veins, whereas, in the northern climates they have only milk."

Many of them have humble attendants, or suitors, under the appellation of Cortejos, which answer to the Italian cicisbeo. It would be uncharitable, however, to say that this custom is always attended with ill effects; though appearances may be unfavourable to them.

The weather is commonly very fine, the air pure, and the sky serene here; but during the months of November and December, heavy rains fall:

fall; when travelling, in many places, is rendered impracticable, from the collection of water in the valleys. Even after the rains have subsided, it is necessary to wait some time before the communication between places can be renewed. Sometimes these heavy rains continue till February, after which scarcely a drop falls for five or six months.

About four leagues from Lisbon is situated the convent of Odivelas, where, it is said, three hundred beautiful nuns formed the seraglio of the late king of Portugal and his court. We mention this to introduce a literary anecdote. A French author, speaking of this nunnery, says, "I am assured, that the famous *Portuguese Letters*, of which there is a French translation, were produced in this tender, gallant, and voluptuous monastery. That these letters, which breathe most ardent and generous love, which paint it in all its shades, and all its details, were really written by an impassioned nun and a faithless lover."

JOURNEY FROM  
*FORT PRINCE WALES,*  
IN HUDSON'S BAY,

TO THE  
NORTHERN OCEAN,  
*FOR THE DISCOVERY OF COPPER MINES AND  
A NORTH-WEST PASSAGE,*

Performed between the Years 1769 and 1772,

BY MR. SAMUEL HEARNE.

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THE Hudson's Bay Company, however, traduced by some, as being inimical to discoveries within the bounds of their charter, have, on more occasions than one, shewn themselves zealous in promoting whatever might tend to the honour or benefit of their country, as well as their own individual interests.

Animated with those collective views, they appointed Mr. Samuel Hearne, one of their officers, to prosecute discoveries in a track little known, even from the report of the natives, who sometimes resorted to the settlement. In his instructions, he was directed to proceed towards latitude 70 deg north, to endeavour to trace the Far-off-Metal River to its mouth, to explore the situation of the copper mines, if any, of which indistinct accounts had been given; and, in short, to attend

to any localities which might be productive of an extended commerce, or geographical knowledge.

His first attempt was made in the close of the year 1769, when, after proceeding about two hundred miles, his Indian guides deserted him; and it was with great difficulty he regained the settlement at Fort Prince Wales. Not daunted by this unsuccessful expedition, he set out again on the 23d of February 1770, accompanied by three northern and two southern Indians. Having travelled, without any material occurrence, for upwards of a month, the difficulties of proceeding farther, till the season became more advanced, were so great, that they were induced to pitch their winter tent, in which they lodged till the 27th of April, when they again resumed their journey.

They reached the river Cathawhachaga, in latitude 63 deg. 4 min. north, about the beginning of July. In their way to the westward they crossed several other rivers, sometimes in a canoe, which they carried with them, and sometimes by fording. As their distresses multiplied, the Indians again began to shew dissatisfaction; but by an unfortunate accident, on the 11th of August, the quadrant was broke, at a time when they found themselves in latitude 63 deg. 10 min. north, longitude 10 deg. 40 min. west of Churchill river; and this laid Mr. Hearne under the disagreeable necessity of returning again to the fort. After experiencing incredible distresses, he reached the settlement on the 25th of November, and thus ended his second abortive attempt.

Still resolute to accomplish the business committed to him, and taught by experience how to provide against several ills that he had undergone

in his former journeys, Mr. Hearne, with the approbation of the factory, made preparations for a third expedition, which, as it was more interesting, as well as successful, we mean to detail at some length.

Having engaged an Indian chief, named Matonabee, as his guide, who clearly and sensibly pointed out the causes which had contributed to their former failures, and described the plan he would wish to recommend in this attempt, Mr. Hearne set out again, with a party belonging to the Indian chief, on the 7th of December 1770; and for some days they found the weather tolerably mild for that season of the year.

On the 16th, they arrived at Egg River, where Matonabee and his friends had secured, as they thought, some provisions and necessary implements a short time before. On examining the place of the deposit, however, they found the whole had been carried off by some of the Indians, who had passed that way; a loss which was severely felt by them, but borne with heroic fortitude; nor did a word of revenge, in case it should be in their power, escape their lips.

On the 18th, as they were continuing their course, they discovered several joints of deer in good preservation, which had been recently killed by some unknown Indians. On this they feasted with much satisfaction, as they had fared very hard for some preceding days. Entering some woods on the 26th, they had the good fortune to kill four deer; and as they had not tasted any thing for three days, except a pipe of tobacco and a draught of snow water, their strength, loaded as they were, was beginning to fail, and they

they requested leave to halt a day, to refresh themselves.

Our author says, he never spent such a melancholy Christmas in his life; and when he reflected on the delicacies that were then expending in every part of Christendom, under the pressure of fatigue and hunger, he could not refrain from wishing himself in a more genial clime. The Indians, however, kept in good spirits, and flattered him that they would soon find better roads, and deer and game in greater plenty.

Directing their course to the westward, they entered on thick shrubby woods, consisting chiefly of stunted pines and dwarf junipers, with some few willow bushes and poplars.

On the 30th, they arrived at the east side of Island Lake, where they killed two large deer. In the evening of that day the guide was taken ill; and from the nature of his complaint, it appeared, that gorging some days before was the principal cause of it. Nothing is more common, indeed, than for those people to overload their stomachs after being weakened by long fasting, and the effect of this cannot but be felt. Yet, though they are voluptuaries, when it is in their power, no nation can support longer abstinence, or shew more fortitude under the privation of every necessary.

On the 1st of January 1771, they proceeded on about sixteen miles along the same lake, when they came to two tents, in which some of the wives and families of Matonabee's party had been left, waiting their husbands' return from the fort. Here they found two men, and about twenty women and children; and as those two men had neither gun nor ammunition, they had

no other means of subsisting themselves and friends, but by catching fish, and snaring a few rabbits. The former were plentiful, and consisted of pike, barbel, and trout, with some fish for which we have no English name.

The centre of Island Lake lies in latitude 60 deg. 45 min. north, longitude 102 deg. 25 min. west from London. It is in some places about thirty-five miles wide, and is so full of islands, that the whole lake resembles a jumble of winding rivers and creeks. Fish is abundant in every part, and therefore, it is a favourite station with the northern Indians, who visit Prince of Wales's Fort in autumn. Many of the islands, as well as the mainland round the lake, are covered with dwarf wood. The face of the country, like all that to the north of Seal River, is hilly and full of rocks.

Pursuing their journey towards the north-west, their provisions ran very short, till the 16th, when the Indians killed no fewer than twelve deer. This supply induced them to halt a few days, in order to dry and pound some meat, to render it lighter of carriage.

Having, by the 22d, prepared a sufficient stock of portable provisions, and repaired their sledges and snow shoes, they resumed their journey. In the afternoon of that day, they fell in with a stranger who had one of Matonabee's wives under his care. This was the first person they had seen, in travelling some hundred miles, who was not connected with their own party: a proof how thinly this part of the country was peopled.

Next day they found deer still more numerous; and contragulated themselves on the prospect of suffering no more want during the winter.



On the 3d of February, they were so near the edge of the woods, that the barren land was in sight to the northward; and as the woods trended to the west, they were obliged to travel more in that direction, for the sake of keeping among them, and consequently among the deer. This day they saw several strangers, some of whom joined their party.

On the 6th, they crossed the main branch of Cathawhachaga River, about three quarters of a mile broad; and soon after arrived at the side of Partridge Lake, which they crossed on the ice next day, where it was about fourteen miles over. The intensity of the cold was beyond expression, and many of the crew were frost bitten. One of the Matonabee's wives was so frozen, as to be almost incruited on the lower parts with ice; and as she was thawing in great pain, her companions only jeered her, and told her she was rightly served for belting her clothes so high; a circumstance which they ascribed to the vanity of shewing a well-turned leg.

After passing Partridge Lake, they found deer so abundant for many days, that the Indians killed more than they could eat or carry with them. Accustomed themselves to subsist on precarious supplies, they have no idea of saving for the benefit of others; and riot on game when they fall in with it, regardless of their real wants, or the future consequences of the devastation they make.

On the 21st, they crossed the Snow-bird Lake, and found deer as plentiful as before, so that much time was expended in killing and eating them; but as Mr. Hearne was assured that the season would by no means permit them to proceed in a  
direct

direct line to the Copper-Mine River, this delay was of little consequence.

In crossing Pike Lake, on the 3d of March, they came up to a large tent of northern Indians, who had been living there from the beginning of winter, and had employed that long interval in catching deer in a pound. Indeed, so successful is this method of sporting, in a country where the game is so abundant, that many families subsist by it, without having occasion to move their tents above once or twice in the course of a whole winter.

Such an easy mode of procuring subsistence in the winter months, is a capital blessing to the aged and the infirm; but is apt to render the young and active indolent and inert; for as those parts of the country, where deer abound, are destitute of every animal of the fur kind, it cannot be supposed that such as can live with so little toil, will give themselves the trouble of hunting for furs, which are requisite to procure them ammunition and other European commodities. Such is the language, our author observes, of the more industrious among the Indians themselves; but in his opinion, there cannot exist a stronger proof, that mankind were not created for happiness in this world, than the conduct of the miserable beings who inhabit this wretched part of it\*. None but the aged, the infirm, the women, and children, and a few who are regardless of opinion (and they are the happy few every where!) will sub-

\* Man was certainly made for happiness; but his own foolish passions, or his being a slave to the passions or opinions of others, deprive him in every climate of his birth right. From these sources flow the infelicity of man; not that nature has been unkind, or God unjust.

mit to remain in the parts where food and clothing are to be procured on such easy terms; because they cannot shine as hunters, or accumulate furs. And what do the more industrious gain by all their trouble? Their real wants are easily supplied. A hatchet, an ice chisel, a file, and a knife are all that is required to enable them to procure a comfortable livelihood; and those who aim at more, are always the most unhappy, and have the most numerous wants to supply.

Those who bring their furs to the factory, indeed, pride themselves much on the respect which is shewn them by the English; to obtain which, they frequently run the risk of being starved in their way thither or back; and all they can possibly procure for their year's labour, seldom amounts to more than is sufficient to yield a bare subsistence till the return of the season; while such as are despised for their indolence or want of spirit, generally live in a state of plenty; and consequently must be most happy and most independent also. He therefore is at once the greatest philosopher and the wisest man, who lives for himself, his family, and friends; and laughs at the madness of ambition, and the whistlings of a name.

Having stopped a night in company with the Indians whom they found on the Pike Lake, they began crossing the remainder of it next morning; but though the weather was fine, and the whole breadth not more than twenty-seven miles, the Indians were so full of play, that they were upwards of two days before they reached the west side of it.

On the 8th of March, they lay near a place called Black Bear Hill, where they killed two deer; and next day they had such fine pleasant weather,

weather, as gave them the prelude of spring, though little thaw was yet visible.

On the 19th, they saw the track of several strangers; and on the subsequent day came up to five tents of northern Indians, who had resided there great part of the winter, snaring deer.

At this place, a storm came on which raged with such violence, that they did not move for several days; and as some of the Indians they had fallen in with, were proceeding to Fort Prince Wales, Mr. Hearne embraced the opportunity of sending a letter by them to the chief, to acquaint him with his progress. The latitude here was calculated to be 61 deg. 30 min. north, longitude about 19 deg. 50 min. west of Churchill River.

The weather becoming fair and temperate on the 23d, they again pursued their way, and on that and the succeeding days, they fell in with several Indians, some of whom being acquaintances of the party, joined company.

Continuing to shape their course to the westward, on the 8th of April, they arrived at a lake called Little Fish Hill, and pitched their tents on an island in it. Here the Indians finding deer very numerous, determined to stay some time, and to lay in a stock of portable provisions; because, from the season of the year, they were aware, that their game would soon quit the covert of the woods for the barren grounds.

At this time the party did not consist of less than seventy persons, who were lodged in seven tents. For ten days the hunting went on briskly, and having procured an adequate supply of dried stores, they again set off on the 18th of April. After travelling about ten miles, they came to a tent of Indians, near the Thelewey-aza River.

From these people Matonabee purchased another wife, though he had six before; and most of them of the size of grenadiers. Indeed the chief pride of an Indian is to have a wife of strength rather than beauty; for in a country like this, where a partner, able to endure hard labour, is the chief motive for the union, and the attachment of sex a secondary object, this preference of choice is not to be wondered at.

In general, the women here are far from being objects of attraction, according to our ideas of beauty; though there are a few, when young, that are not quite destitute of personal charms. Hard labour, however, hard fare, and a rigorous climate, soon render them wrinkled; and they have all the marks of decrepitude before they are thirty. But this does not render them less dear and valuable to their owners, provided their strength remains; and a woman who can carry eight or ten stone weight in summer, or drag a much greater weight in winter, is sure of a husband, whatever her person may be. As for good temper and mental accomplishments, of so much consequence in polished society, and without which the conjugal union must be a state of misery, it is here of little value. The men have a wonderful facility in making the most stubborn comply, with as much promptitude as the most willing; the command is given, and it must be obeyed.

Women indeed are kept at a very great distance. They perform the most laborious offices; and yet the meanest male in the family must be satisfied before wife or daughter is permitted to taste a bit; and in times of scarcity, they frequently go without a single morsel. Should they attempt

attempt to serve themselves in secret, it must be done with great caution, as a detection would subject them to a beating at least. Indeed, an embezzlement of provisions would be a blot in their character which it would be difficult to efface.

As the vicinity of Thelewey-aza River afforded plenty of good birch, they halted there several days to complete the wood work for the canoes, and other necessary purposes. On the 20th, a brother of the Indian guide, and some others were sent forward to a small lake, named Clowey, to build a canoe with all expedition.

Just as the rest of the party were about to move, one of the women was taken in labour, a circumstance that detained them two days. The instant, however, that the poor woman was delivered, the tents were struck; and with her child on her back and a small burden besides, she was forced to keep pace with them, and frequently to wade knee deep in water and melted snow. Her looks, exclusive of her piteous moans, were a sufficient proof of the anguish she endured; and our author says, he never felt more than he did for this miserable woman, whom it was not in his power to relieve.

When a northern Indian woman is taken in labour, she is removed to a small tent, out of the hearing of the men, and only women and girls are suffered to go near her. During the pains of parturition, no assistance whatever is given, the whole is left to nature; and when they are told of the aid which European women receive from their midwives, they will ironically observe, "that the many hump backs, bandy legs, and other deformities among the English, were undoubtedly

owing to the great skill of midwives and nurses."

The children are always named by the parents, or some of their nearest relations. Boys have various appellations, generally derived from place, season, or animal; but the names of the girls are chiefly taken from some part or property of a martin; such as the white martin, the black martin; the martin's head, the martin's tail, &c.

They now shaped their course nearly north; but the snow was so much melted from the heat of the sun, that they were ten days in reaching Clowey, though the distance was not more than eighty-five miles from their last station.

On their arrival at Clowey, a lake about twelve miles over, the 3d of May, they found their captain's brother and associates had only distanced them three days. Here they were joined by several Indians from different quarters, all with an intent of building their canoes at the same place.

It was the 20th before the canoes belonging to Mr. Hearne's party were ready. These vessels are necessarily very slight and simple in their construction, as it is sometimes requisite to carry them more than one hundred miles. Their chief use is to cross lakes and unfordable rivers, after the ice is dissolved; for in winter, both land and water are one solid mass. The Indian employs no other tools in the construction of his vessel, save a hatchet, a knife, a file, and an awl; yet the workmanship is not to be excelled by what the most expert artist could accomplish with every tool in common use.

The shape of the northern Indian canoe bears some resemblance to a weaver's shuttle, but the stern is by far the widest part, as there the baggage is generally laid, and occasionally a second person

person stretched out at his full length. The dimensions are about twelve feet long, by two in the widest part. The bottom is quite flat. The single paddle is generally used in steering.

Mr. Hearne distributed a little tobacco among the Indians they fell in with at Clowey; and indeed, a pipe or two, and sometimes a present of a few inches of roll tobacco, were always expected by every stranger of any consequence. This constant demand, added to the consumption of his own party, diminished his stores more than one half, before he had proceeded thus far. Gunpowder and shot are likewise articles of high estimation among the Indians; and Matonabee, from his own supplies, liberally gratified his countrymen with them.

Leaving Clowey, they proceeded northward. Soon after they fell in with some strangers, who informed them that Captain Keeshies was within a day's walk to the southward. By this chief, our author had dispatched a letter to the Fort in his last attempt, just before the quadrant was broke; and they had not met since. Two young men were therefore commissioned to proceed to Keeshies station, to receive the letters and goods that had been intrusted to him on Mr. Hearne's account. These returned on the 22d, and reported that Captain Keeshies intended to join them in a few days, and deliver the things with his own hand.

The evening of the 24th of May, the weather was excessively bad, accompanied with violent thunder and lightning. Next morning, however, the wind veering about, it became intensely cold and frosty, which much impeded their progress. The country over which they travelled now, was quite barren, and sprinkled with a few dry stumps of trees.



On the 27th, resuming their journey, they walked about twelve miles to the northward, on the ice of a small river that falls into Peshew Lake. Seeing a smoke to the southward, they advanced to an island in that lake, and there pitched their tents with an intention of waiting the approach of Captain Keelbies.

In the night, one of Matonabee's wives and another woman eloped; and it was supposed they had gone to rejoin their former husbands, from whom they had some time before been taken by force. The chief was almost inconsolable for the loss of his wife; though he had still six remaining. Indeed it seems she was by far the handsomest of his flock, and possessed every valuable and engaging quality to be found in an Indian. She appeared, however, unhappy with Matonabee; and probably preferred being the sole wife of a young fellow of less note, than to share the divided affection of the greatest man of the country.

Time immemorial, it has been a custom among those people to wrestle for the woman to whom they are attached; and of course, the strongest carries off the prize. Indeed, without a considerable share of bodily strength, or some natural or acquired consequence, it is seldom permitted to keep a wife, whom a stronger man thinks worth his notice, or whom he wants to assist in carrying his goods.

This savage and unnatural custom prevails throughout all their tribes, and excites a spirit of emulation among youth to distinguish themselves in gymnastic exercises, to enable them to protect their wives and property.

The manner in which they tear the women and other property from each other, is not so much

much by fighting as by hauling each other by the hair of the head. Seldom any hurt is done in those rencounters. Before the contest begins, it is not unusual for one or both of the combatants to cut off his hair, and to grease his ears in private. If one only is shorn, though he be the weakest man, he generally obtains the victory; so that it is evident, address will ever exceed mere strength among all nations.

The bye-standers never interfere on these occasions; not even the nearest relations, except by advice to pursue or abandon the contest. Scarcely a day passes without some overtures being made for contests of this kind; and our author says, it often affected him much, to see the object of the dispute, sitting in pensive silence, and awaiting the termination of the combat, which was to decide her fate. Sometimes a woman happens to be won by a man whom she mortally hates; but even in this case, she must be passive, should she at the same time be torn from a man she really loves.

It is generally, however, young women, or at least such as have no children, who thus frequently change masters; for few are fond of maintaining the children of others, except on particular occasions.

Some of the aged, particularly if they have the reputation of being conjurers, possess great influence over the rabble, and sometimes prevent such irregularities. As far, indeed, as their own family and connections are concerned, they will exert their utmost influence; but when their own relations are guilty, they seldom interfere. This partial conduct creates them secret, as well as open, enemies; but fear or superstition prevents the ebullitions of revenge.

Unprincipled

Unprincipled and savage as the northern Indians may appear, in robbing each other, not only of their property, but their wives, they are naturally mild, and seldom carry their enmity farther than wrestling. A murder is seldom heard of among them; and the perpetrator of such a horrid crime is sure to experience the fate of Cain: he is a wanderer, and becomes forlorn and forsaken, even by his own relations and former friends.

Captain Keeshies joined them on the morning of the 29th. He delivered a packet of letters to Mr. Hearne, and such goods as had been intrusted to him, which his own necessities, in the intermediate time, had not tempted him to use.

He cried often, in sign of sorrow, for having been obliged to embezzle so much; and as the only recompence then in his power, gave our author some ready-dressed moose skins, which were in reality more acceptable, in his present situation, than what Keeshies had expended.

Same day an event happened that had nearly put an end to the expedition. An Indian joined them, who insisted on taking one of Matonabee's wives by force, unless he gave him a certain quantity of ammunition, iron, and other articles. The man, it appears, had very lately sold the woman to the captain; but having expended all the purchase value, he was determined to make another bargain for her; and as she was a very useful woman, and dexterous in every female art, that gained credit among these people, the chief was reduced to the most mortifying dilemma. He was sensible he was not able to wrestle with the claimant; he was exasperated at the trick put upon him; however, after some hours squabbling,

bling, the presents were produced, and the woman remained with Matonabee.

But this indignity he could not brook; he threatened to renounce his countrymen, and to join the Athapusco Indians, with whose chiefs he was well acquainted; and from whom he said he had always met with more civility than from his own people. Had this resolution been carried into effect, there would have been an end of the expedition to the Copper-Mine River; for the Athapusco country lies in a different direction.

Alarmed with the prospect of a third failure, though under no apprehension of personal safety, Mr. Hearne waited with anxiety till he thought the passion of the chief had a little abated; and then by soothing language, by the arguments of duty, interest, and fidelity to the Hudson's Bay Company, he urged him not to abandon an expedition which could not be carried on without him, and for conducting which to a fortunate issue, he might expect not only favour, but reward.

Rage at last subsided; and the chief, though late in the afternoon, ordered his crew to advance, and after walking a some miles, they put up on another island in Peshew Lake.

Having got to the north side of this lake on the 30th, every arrangement was made for facilitating the execution of the scheme. Most of the women and children were to be left under the care of some Indians, with orders to proceed to the northward at their leisure, and to wait the return of the party from the Copper River, at a place appointed. Matonabee took only two of his youngest wives with him, who were lightly laden;

and indeed, it was agreed on, that no one in the party should carry more ammunition, or other articles, than was absolutely necessary for the occasion.

The women expressed great sorrow at parting, and the chief was obliged to use all his authority to keep his part of them from following him. Their yells were most pitious, as long as they were within hearing; while the Indians walked on with a gay indifference, seldom thinking of those they left behind, or confining their whole regard to their younger children.

They were now in latitude 64, so that they saw as well to walk or hunt by night as by day. Here they found a few deer, though this kind of game had long ceased to be plentiful, and they had chiefly subsisted on their dried provisions.

It should have been observed, that a number of Indians joined them at Clowey, and intended to accompany them to the Copper-Mine River, with no other object than to murder the Esquimaux, who, they understood, frequented that river in considerable numbers. This horrid scheme, it seems, was universally approved of, and every man equipped himself with a target, before he left the woods of Clowey. Nevertheless, when the women and children were about to be left, only sixty volunteers followed Matonabee's party; the rest more prudently staid with their wives and families.

As soon as Mr. Hearne was apprized of this barbarous intention, of murdering a people who had done them no injury, he zealously strove to dissuade them from such a design; but so far were his entreaties from being regarded, that they apprehended he was actuated by cowardice,

and with many marks of derision, told him, he was afraid of the Esquimaux. . Knowing his personal safety depended on the ideas his attendants formed of his courage, he was obliged to change his tone, and affected the hero. He found it in vain, indeed, to attempt to stem the torrent of savage prejudice, or to inspire more humane or just principles, and therefore he in future left them to their own discretion.

Being now exonerated from every useless encumbrance or cause of delay, they pursued their journey to the northward with great speed; but, owing to the badness of the weather, it was the middle of June before they reached the latitude of 67 deg 30 min.

In their way thither, they crossed several lakes on the ice; and in some creeks and rivers they caught a few fish. Deer were so plentiful, that the Indians killed numbers merely for the fat, marrow and tongues: nor was it possible to make them desist from this unnecessary destruction of the poor animals. They insisted on it, that killing plenty of deer or other game in one season, would never make them scarce in another; and that when it was in their power to live on the best, it would be folly to neglect it. Such are the narrow, selfish views of people who are destitute of elegancies, and who, at best, have the means of no more than a precarious subsistence.

Having passed Cogead Lake, on the 20th of June, on the ice, the following day they were surrounded by such a thick fog, that they could not see their way. However, in a few hours, the sun broke out, and did not set at all; a convincing proof that they were then within the arctic polar circle.

On the 22d, they arrived at a branch of Congecathawhachaga River; and as the ice was now broken up, they passed it in their canoes, with the friendly assistance of some Copper Indians, whom they found on its banks, employed in killing deer.

Matonabee, and many of his countrymen, were personally acquainted with most of those Copper Indians; and their meeting was highly grateful to both parties. A feast of dried meat and fat was prepared, and Matonabee and his friends were invited to partake of it.

The Copper Indians being made acquainted with the object of the present journey, highly approved of it, and even offered their assistance, particularly in lending their canoes, which they said would be very useful during the remainder of the journey. Our author, according to his instructions, smoked the calumet of peace with the principal of the Copper Indians, who was delighted with the prospect of a settlement in his country; and seemed to think there could be no impediment to prevent it; for though he acknowledged that he had never seen the sea clear of ice at the mouth of the Copper River, yet it did not occur to him, that this must prevent ships from approaching their territories.

The whole party of the Copper Indians, notwithstanding they had never seen an Englishman before, were extremely civil and obliging; and our traveller made them a present of some such article as he had, to conciliate their affection the more. They pronounced him to be a perfect human being, except in the colour of his hair and eyes; the former they said was like the stained hair of a buffaloe's tail; and the latter like those of a gull. The whiteness of his skin they thought

no ornament; and compared it to flesh sodden in water. However, he was considered as a great curiosity, and treated with much respect. When he combed his head, they asked for the hairs that came off, which they carefully wrapped up, saying, "when I see you again, you shall see this." Hence it seems, that among the civilized and uncivilized, a lock of hair is regarded as a proof of affection, or as a memorial of friendship.

Matonabee now dispatched his brother and several Copper Indians, to Copper-Mine River, to announce the arrival of the strangers, and the objects they had in view; and that they might meet with a more welcome reception, tobacco and other trifling articles were sent by the same conveyance, to be distributed in presents.

As it was resolved on to leave all the women at this place, and to proceed to the Copper-Mine River without them, it was necessary to continue here a few days to kill deer sufficient for their support, during the period of absence. Though game was most abundant, so large was the daily consumption, that it was some time before they could procure an adequate supply for the women and for themselves. Meat, cut in thin slices and dried, is not only very portable but palatable; and, with care to air it during the hot weather, will keep for a year without injury.

Notwithstanding the hospitable manner in which the Copper Indians behaved, in spite of Matonabee's exertions, some of his party made free with their young women, clothes, and bows; a circumstance very distressing to our author. The chief, indeed, did not seem to think there was much harm in monopolizing the women; but he endeavoured to repress the depredations



of his followers on other kinds of property, without making a due equivalent.

That a plurality of wives should be the universal custom among these tribes, is not much to be wondered at, when it is considered that they are the greatest travellers on earth; and as they have neither beast of burden nor water carriage, every good hunter is under the necessity of having persons to carry his furs to market; and none are so well adapted for this work as the women, who are inured to carry and haul heavy goods from their very childhood; so that he who is capable of providing for three, four, or more women, is, comparatively speaking, a great man. Jealousies, however, will sometimes appear among them, notwithstanding habit has familiarized them to their situation; but as the husband is always arbitrator, the disputes are soon settled, and submission must be paid to his commands.

The northern Indian women are the mildest and most virtuous of the North American natives; while the southern Indian females are remarkable for the dissoluteness and indecency of their manners. In fact, they are so far from laying any restraints on their appetites and passions, that they indulge themselves in all the grossness of sensuality, and even of incestuous debauchery. No accomplishments whatever, in man, can conciliate their affections, or preserve their chastity.

But though the northern Indian women are incomparably the most virtuous, it is no unusual thing for their husbands to exchange beds with each other for a night. This, however, brings no disgrace; but, on the contrary, is considered as the strongest cement of friendship between families; and in case of the death of either of the

men, the other thinks himself bound to support the children of the deceased, and is never known to swerve from the duty of a parent. Thus we see how nearly virtues and vices are allied.

Though the northern Indians make no scruple of having two or three sisters for wives at the same time; yet they are very particular in observing a proper distance in the consanguinity of those whom they admit to their beds. The southern Indians, however, follow the most incestuous practices, without any sense of impropriety.

By the 1st of July, they were ready to proceed on their journey; and having determined the latitude of Congecathawhachaga to be 68 deg. 46 min. north, and long. 118 deg. 15 min. west, from London, they set out. At first the weather was extremely unpropitious, and they made little progress. On the 4th it became more temperate, and they walked over the Snowy Mountains, as they are called. At a distance, they resembled a confused heap of stones, utterly impassable; but under the guidance of the Copper Indians, who knew the best track, they passed them, though not without being obliged to crawl sometimes on their hands and knees.

By the side of the path, in several places, were large flat stones, covered with many thousands of small pebbles, which the Copper Indians informed them had been gradually collected by passengers going to and from the mines. Of course they added to the heaps.

As the snow, sleet, and rain, fell without intermission on the 5th, they halted; but next day they were able to advance about eleven miles to the north-west. Perceiving, however, the approach of a storm, they looked out for shelter among

among the rocks, as they had done the four preceding nights; having neither tents nor poles to erect them with.

Next morning several of the volunteers deserted them, being quite sick of the hardships they endured. For some days they had not been a moment dry; even at night, the water was constantly dropping from the rocks that hung over them, and formed their sole shelter from the inclemency of the weather. Except to light their pipes, it was impossible to kindle any fire.

Early on the morning of the 7th, they crawled from their recesses, and as the sun was hot, it soon melted the recent snow; and towards night they reached Musk Ox Lake, so called from the number of those animals they found on its margin. The Indians killed several of them; but as the flesh was lean, they only stripped the bulls for the sake of their hides.

This was the first time they had seen any of those animals, since they left the factory. In the high latitudes, however, many herds of them may be seen in the course of a day's walk: The number of bulls is very small in proportion to that of cows; so that there is every reason to believe they kill each other in contending for the females. In the rutting season it is extremely dangerous for man or beast to approach them. They delight in the most stony and mountainous parts of the barren ground.

Though of considerable magnitude, and apparently little adapted for agility, they climb the rocks with the facility of goats; and like them too feed on every thing, moss, herbage, or browse.

The musk ox, when full grown, is about the ordinary size of English black cattle; but their legs  
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are shorter and thicker. The tail is short, and always bent inwards, so that it is entirely hid in the long hair of the rump and hind quarters. The hunch on the shoulders is not very prominent; the hair, on some parts is very long, particularly on the bulls, under the throat, where it appears like a horse's mane inverted, and gives the animal a very formidable appearance. It is of this hair that the Esquimaux make their musketto wigs. Towards the approach of winter, they are provided with a fine thick wool, or fur, which grows at the root of the long hair, and shields them from the intense cold of that season, in this dreary climate. This covering of nature falls off on the return of summer, and immediately a new one begins to appear.

The flesh of the musk ox resembles that of the moose or elk; the fat is a clear white, slightly tinged with azure. The calves and young heifers are good eating; but the flesh of the bulls smells and tastes so strong of musk, that it is almost intolerable. Even the knife that cuts the flesh of an old bull, will smell so strong, that nothing but scowering it can remove the scent. The organs of generation, however, and parts adjacent, are most strongly impregnated.

The weather being fine and moderate on the 8th, they walked about eighteen or twenty miles, and meeting with some deer, they kindled a fire, and made a better and more comfortable meal than they had done for a week. Their clothes too were now dried by the sun and wind, and they felt themselves in paradise, compared with their late situation.

That night they lay near Bear Grizzled Hill, which takes its name from the number of those

animals that retire hither to bring forth their young in a cave. Our author having heard so much of this spot, had the curiosity to view it.

He found nothing, however, to reward his labour, but a tumulus of loamy earth, in the middle of a marsh. There are several little hills of the same kind; but the highest is not more than twenty feet above the level of the ground.

On the side of Grizzled Bear Hill is a large cave, which penetrates a considerable way into the rock, and may probably have been the labour of the bears, which have made numerous deep furrows in search of ground-squirrels and mice, which constitute a favourite part of their food.

The weather being very favourable on the 9th, they walked a great number of miles, and by the way saw plenty of deer and musk oxen. Next day, about noon, it became so hot and sultry, that walking was quite irksome; they therefore put up on the top of a high hill, and as the moss was then dry, they lighted a fire, and would have been comfortable in other respects, had not the mosquitoes stung them in the most intolerable manner.

The subsequent day was also very sultry. After walking about ten miles, they fell in with a northern Indian leader, named Owl-Eye, and his family, in company with several Copper Indians, killing deer with bows, arrows, and spears. Mr. Hearne smoked his calumet with these strangers, and found them much less sociable than their countrymen, whom he had formerly seen; for though they had plenty of provisions, they would not part with a mouthful; but on the contrary tried to rob and plunder them of every thing.

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The 12th was so sultry, that they did not move; but early next morning they set forward, in hopes of reaching Copper-Mine River that day. However, having mounted a long chain of hills, at the foot of which they were told the river ran, they found it to be no more than a branch of it, which fell into the main stream about forty miles from its influx into the sea.

At this time all the Copper Indians were dispatched different ways, so that none of them knew the nearest road. Directing their course, however, by the side of this rivulet, in hopes of coming to the main stream, they fell in with several fine buck deer, which they killed, and feasted on with great glee.

After regaling themselves, and taking a few hours rest, they once more set forward, and after walking about ten miles, they arrived at the long-wished-for spot, the Copper-Mine River.

Scarcely had they arrived here, when they were joined by four of the natives with two canoes. They had seen all the Indians who had been sent to announce their approach, except Matonabee's brother and party, who had set out first.

Mr. Hearne was not only surprised, but mortified, to find the river so very different from the descriptions of it given at the factory. Instead of being navigable for shipping, as had been represented, it would scarcely swim an Indian canoe, being every where full of shoals and frequent falls.

Near the edge of the stream, which might be about one hundred and eighty yards broad, were some kinds of wood; but though it seemed to have been more plentiful formerly, there was ve-

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ry little in the vicinity, and none fit for any other purpose than the fire.

Soon after their arrival, three Indians were dispatched to look out for any Esquimaux who might be on the banks of the river; and every precaution was taken to prevent an alarm, that the destined victims might fall into their hands without apprehension.

On the morning of the 15th of July, Mr. Hearne began his survey, and proceeded down the river, which was every where full of shoals; and in some places vastly contracted in its breadth. Next day he advanced about ten miles farther, and found it the same.

Soon after they suspended the survey for the day, the three spies returned, and reported that they had discovered five tents, in the most favourable situation for a surprise. All attention to the business of the survey was now suspended; the whole thoughts of the Indians were absorbed in planning the best mode of attack, and of stealing on the poor savages, when asleep, and killing them all.

Having crossed the river in canoes, and got all the weapons in order, each painted a part of his shield with some figure, generally the sun, moon, or some bird or beast of prey, in which they placed their reliance for success in the intended engagement.

From the hurry in which this business was executed, and the deficiency both of skill and colours, most of the paintings had little resemblance to any thing in heaven or earth; but they satisfied the artists, and that was sufficient.

This piece of superstition being completed, they advanced towards the Esquimaux tents with  
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the utmost caution and silence; and though an undisciplined rabble, and by no means accustomed to war, no sooner had they entered on this horrid scheme, than they acted with the utmost uniformity of sentiment. There was neither altercation nor contending opinion; all were united in the general cause, and as ready to follow as Matonabee to lead.

Never was a reciprocity of interest more generally regarded; and if ever the spirit of disinterested friendship animated the breast of a northern Indian, it was here displayed in glowing colours. Property of every kind ceased to be private: each was proud of an opportunity of supplying the wants of his neighbour.

The attacking party was judged to be quite as numerous as the Esquimaux, in their five tents, could possibly be; and besides, being so much better equipped, nothing less than a miracle was likely to save the poor savages from a general massacre.

The land was so situated, that they walked under cover of the rocks and hills, till within two hundred yards of the tents. Here they halted, to watch the motions of the enemy, and would have persuaded our author to remain till the engagement was over.

But though he disclaimed having any interference in the deed of death, he thought it more prudent to accompany them; and the Indians were not a little gratified with his promptness to be of the party.

The last ceremonies were now performed, which consisted in painting their faces; some black, some red, and others a mixture of the two. They next made themselves as light as possible



for running, by almost stripping themselves naked. Mr. Hearne, fearing he might have occasion to run with the rest, pulled off his stockings and cap, and tied up his hair as closely as possible.

It was now near one in the morning\* of the 17th, when, finding the Esquimaux all still, they rushed from their ambuscade, and fell on the unsuspecting savages, who did not perceive their danger till it was too late to avoid it.

The scene was shocking beyond description. The unhappy victims were surprised in the middle of their sleep; men, women, and children, to the number of twenty, ran out of their tents stark naked, and endeavoured to fly; but the Indians had possession of the land side; and as they did not attempt to throw themselves into the river, the whole fell a sacrifice to unprovoked barbarity.

Their shrieks were most dreadful; but no part of this bloody affair filled our author with deeper horror, than the fate of a young girl, apparently about eighteen. She was stabbed so near him, that she fell down at his feet, and twisted round his legs; so that he could scarcely extricate himself from her dying grasp. He solicited hard for her life; but the murderers made no reply till they had transfixed her with two spears. They then looked sternly at him, and in ridicule, asked him if he wanted an Esquimaux wife.

Though the poor wretch was twining round their spears, they continued their taunts; when Mr. Hearne begged they would at least release her from her misery. On this one of them pierc-

\* It is proper to observe, they were far within the arctic circle, where the sun never sets at this season of the year.

ed her through the breast. The love of life, however, prompted her to attempt to ward off the blow, which, in her situation, was the extreme of mercy to inflict.

"My situation," says our author, "and the terror of my mind, at the sight of this butchery, can neither be conceived nor described. Though I summoned up all my resolution, it was with difficulty I could refrain from tears: even at this hour, I cannot reflect on the transactions of that horrid day, without the most painful emotions."

But the brutality of these savages, to the bodies they had deprived of life, was still as shocking, and certainly more inexcusable. Their indecent curiosity in examining the conformation of the women, which they pretended to say differed from their own, made nature revolt at the idea.

When these people were all massacred, seven other tents, on the other side of the river, attracted their notice; but providentially for the Esquimaux, the baggage and canoes had been left some way up the river, and there was no other way of crossing it. The river here was about eighty yards over; and to alarm them, if they could not kill them, they began firing. The poor Esquimaux, though on the watch, were so much unacquainted with the nature of firearms, that they did not attempt to fly. When the bullets struck the ground, they ran with a vacant curiosity to see what it was. At length one of them was wounded in the leg, which immediately threw them into confusion. They ran to their canoes, and were soon out of the reach of the northern Indians.

Having plundered the tents of the deceased, of all the copper utensils they could find, they

assembled on the top of an adjacent hill, and forming a circle with their spears erect, clashed them together, and gave many shouts of victory; frequently calling out *tima! tima!* or what cheer, by way of derision to the poor surviving Esquimaux, who were standing almost knee deep in the water.

After parading for some time, they set out for their canoes, and sailing under cover of the bank, they approached the other tents, where the Esquimaux, thinking probably they were gone, had returned, and were busy in tying up bundles. These were seized, but the owners fortunately escaped again in their canoes, except one old man, who was too intent on his business, and who fell a sacrifice to their fury; for not fewer than twenty had a hand in his death.

As they were retreating from the first scene of blood, they found an old woman, sitting by the side of the river, killing salmon, which lay very thick at her feet. Whether from the noise of the fall, or a great defect in sight, she had not been apprized of the murder of her companions, though not more than two hundred yards distant from the scene of blood; nor did she discover her enemies, till they were just within reach of her.

To fly was in vain. She was pierced through with numerous spears, with the most marked and studied cruelty.

The only instrument that this poor half-blind wretch had to catch salmon with, was a light pole, armed with a few spikes, which she put under water, and pulled up with a jerk. Some of the Indians tried this method of fishing; and so extremely numerous were the salmon at this place, that

that they seldom brought up less than two at a pull.

These fish, though very fine and beautifully red, were seldom more than about six or seven pounds weight; but their numbers were almost incredible, and equal to any thing related of the shoals in Kamtschatka. Indeed the Esquimaux have scarcely any other means of subsistence than fish.

After having plundered the second encampment, the northern Indians threw the tents into the river, and destroyed a large stock of provisions, merely from the infernal satisfaction of doing all the mischief in their power to the unhappy Esquimaux, who were standing on a distant shoal, the woeful spectators of their loss.

This business being completed, they refreshed themselves; and then told Mr. Hearne, that they were again ready to assist him in the survey. He therefore instantly set about it, and pursued it to the mouth of the river, which was in every part so full of shoals and falls, as not to be navigable even by a boat. The tide happened to be out, and a bar evidently obstructed the very entrance of the stream. At the estuary of the river, the sea is full of islands and shoals, as far as the telescope can reach. The ice, though it was the 17th of July, was only partially broken up round the shores.

Finding, after all his labour, that this river was unfit for being the channel of any commercial intercourse; and a thick fog and drizzling rain coming on, he did not wait to take an exact observation for determining the latitude, but immediately set out with his attendants, on his return to the southward.

However, before we proceed, it will be proper to give a more particular account of the river and the country adjacent. Besides some stunted pines, there are tufts of dwarf willows on the banks, plenty of what is called wishacumpuckey, some jackasheypuck, and a few cranberries and heath-berry bushes; but not the least appearance of any fruit. Even this scanty vegetation decreases as the river approaches the sea; and, for the last thirty miles, nothing is to be seen but barren hills and marshes, some patches of herbage, and at the foot of the hills fine scurvy-grass.

The general direction of the river is nearly north by east, and its breadth varies from twenty to four or five hundred yards. The banks are generally a solid rock; both sides of which correspond, and furnish an irrefragable proof, that the channel was formed by some violent convulsion of nature.

Some of the Indians pretend that the Copper-Mine River takes its rise from the north side of Large White Stone Lake, which is distant three hundred miles in a straight line; but our author cannot think that its source is so remote, otherwise he conceives its volume must be infinitely greater than it is.

The Esquimaux, who reside on this river, are rather low in stature, and though thick set, are neither well made nor strong. Their complexion is a dirty copper colour, though some of the women are more fair. Their dress resembles that of the Greenlanders in Davis's Straights, except that the women's boots are not stiffened out with whalebone, and the tails of their jackets are much shorter.

Their arms and fishing tackle exactly resemble those of their nation in Hudson's Straights, but  
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for want of edge-tools, are inferior in workmanship.

Their tents are made of parchment deer skins in the hair, and are pitched in a circular form. In winter, however, they have huts half underground, rising and pointed like a cone: these are always erected in the most sheltered situations.

Their domestic utensils consist of stone kettles and wooden troughs; dishes, scoops, and spoons made of the horns of the musk ox. Some of their kettles are capable of containing five or six gallons, and are hollowed out in the form of an oblong square, with no other instrument than a harder stone to work with.

Their hatchets are made of a thick lump of copper, about five or six inches long, and about two inches square, bevelled away like a mortice-chisel, with a handle about a foot, or more, in length. Neither the weight nor the sharpness will admit of the tool being used with much success by itself, and therefore it is generally applied to the wood like a chisel, and driven in with a heavy club.

The spears and knives are also made of copper, and among the spoils of twelve tents, only two small pieces of iron were found.

These people had a fine breed of dogs, with sharp erect ears, sharp noses and bushy tails. They were all tied to stones, probably to prevent them from eating the fish that was spread out to dry on the rocks. The Indians did not meddle with those animals; but after they had retired, lamented they had not brought off some of them for use.

Though there appeared scarcely any difference between these people and the natives of Hudson's Bay,

Bay, in their general appearance and domestic economy, yet as the former had all the hair of their heads pulled out by the roots, they might safely be pronounced of a different tribe.

Near the mouth of the Copper-Mine River they saw many seals on the ice, and flocks of marine fowls flying about the shores. In the adjacent pools were also swans and geese in a moulting state, and in the marshes some curlews and plovers.

That the musk oxen, deer, bears, wolves, wolverenes, foxes, alpine hares, and various other quadrupeds, are the constant denizens of this coast, is a fact that may be depended on. Mr. Hearne did not see any bird peculiar to those parts, except what the Copper Indians call the Alarm Bird. It appears to be of the owl genus; and its name is said to be well adapted to its qualities. When it descries either man or beast, it directs its flight towards them, and hovering over them, forms gyrations round their head. Should two objects at once arrest their attention, they fly from the one to the other alternately, making a loud screaming, like the crying of a child. In this manner they will follow travellers for a whole day.

The Copper Indians have a great value for those birds, as they frequently indicate the approach of strangers, or conduct them to herds of deer and musk oxen, which, without such assistance, they might possibly miss.

Unfortunately, however, for the Esquimaux, they do not seem to place the same faith in the alarm bird. If they had, they must necessarily have been apprized of the approach of the northern Indians, as all the time they lay in ambush,

before the massacre began, a flock of them was continually flying about, and alternately hovering over the tents of the assailants.

But to return. Having walked about thirty miles south eastward of the river, they came to one of the copper mines, if it deserves that appellation. It is no more than a jumble of rocks and gravel, which have been rent by an earthquake, and through which rolls a small stream.

The Indians, whose partial accounts gave rise to this expedition, represented the mine as so immensely rich, that a ship might be ballasted with the ore instead of stone, with perfect facility; and that the hills were entirely composed of that metal, all in portable lumps. After a search of four hours, however, Mr. Hearne and his attendants could find only one piece of copper of any size, and that did not weigh more than four pounds. Yet it seems probable, that this metal has formerly been in much greater plenty, as the rocks and stones are every where tinged with verdigraese.

There is a singular tradition among the natives, that a woman first discovered those mines, and that she conducted her countrymen to the spot for several years successively; but as some of them attempted to behave rudely to her, she made a vow of revenge, and being reputed a great conjurer, she put it in effect. When the men had loaded themselves with copper, she refused to return; and said she would sit on the mine till she sunk into the ground with all the copper. Next year, when the men went for their annual supply, she had sunk down up to the waist, though still alive, and the copper was vastly diminished; and on their repeating their visit the following



year, she had quite disappeared, and all the principal part of the mine with her; so that after that period, nothing remained on the surface but a few small pieces\*.

Before Churchill River was settled by the Hudson's Bay Company, the northern Indians had very little iron work among them: almost every implement was made of copper; and to this spot they annually resorted, till this metal began to fail, and they found other resources, of a superior kind. Yet to this day, the Copper Indians prefer their native ore for almost every use, except that of the hatchet, the knife, and the awl.

The Copper and Dog-ribbed Indians, lying so remote from the factory, generally use the intermediate tribes as brokers or chapmen; and in consequence pay very dearly for every European article they stand in need of. Several attempts, it seems, have been made to induce those distant nations to traffic immediately with the Hudson's Bay Company, at the fort; but though liberal presents have been given to those who had the resolution to venture so far, both for themselves and their chiefs, the northern Indians have constantly plundered them of every thing, before they could reach their homes. This hard treatment, added to the many inconveniences that attend so long a journey, are great obstacles in their

\* In this tradition the circumstances of the copper mines appear to be ingeniously veiled. At first, large lumps of metal were found on the surface of the earth; by degrees that was carried away; and afterwards none was to be had, except by digging in the bowels of the earth. From our author's description, there is little doubt but that there are rich mines to be found here; but of what use would they be, when there is no means of conveyance for the ore?

way ; and will ever prevent a direct and regular communication between the English and them.

Soon after they left the copper mine, a thick fog, with rain, and at intervals, heavy showers of snow, came on. This kind of weather continued for some days, and rendered their progress very slow and unpleasant.

Early on the morning of the 22d of July, they were overtaken by Matonabee's brother and a Copper Indian. They had visited the Copper River, but met with no remarkable incident ; and observing signals, which had been left for their return, they had travelled one hundred miles without stopping. The whole party immediately set out, and proceeded homewards upwards of forty miles that day.

The weather now became hot and sultry ; but this did not occasion any delay in their march ; and they made such good use of their time, that, on the 24th, they reached Congecathawhachaga, where the women had been left ; but, to their great mortification, they found that they had crossed the river, and were gone on.

Observing a great smoke to the southward, Mr. Hearne and his party immediately proceeded towards it, and when they reached the place, they again were disappointed ; for though the women had been there a few days before, they had left it, and set fire to the moss, which was still burning. Their track, however, was visible, and early on the morning of the 25th they came up with them, by the side of Cogead Lake.

From the time they had left the Copper-Mine River, they had travelled so hard and with so little intermission, that Mr. Hearne's feet and legs were considerably swelled, and his ankles were  
become

become quite stiff. The nails of his toes were likewise so much injured, that several of them dropped off; and before he came up to the tents of the women, almost every step was printed in blood. Even the natives began to complain; but none of them were nearly so bad as he was.

As soon as he arrived at the women's encampment, he immediately set about bathing and cleaning his feet; and by the assistance of a common dressing and rest, he was likely in a short time to get well. Rest, however, so essential to his recovery, was not to be procured; for, after halting a day, the Indians again resumed their march, and he was obliged to follow them.

On the 31st they reached the spot where the greatest number of the women, and all the children, were to wait their return. Here they found several Indian tents; but none of Matonabee's party had arrived. However, a smoke being seen to the eastward, two young men were sent in quest of them; and on the 5th of August, they all joined, with a number of other Indians, so that they now filled forty tents. Here the former husband of one of Matonabee's wives, who had eloped, brought her back again; but the chief had the magnanimity to take no notice of her, and bade her depart; observing that if she had respected him as she ought, she would not have left him, and therefore she was free to go where she pleased. The woman affected concern and reluctance, though most assuredly it was not sincere. She returned to her first husband's tent, and probably both were happy.

Several of the Indians being indisposed, the conjurers, who are always the doctors, began to try

try their skill to effect their recovery. No medicine, save charms, is used for any complaint, whether external or internal. In ordinary cases, sucking the diseased part, blowing, and finging to it, spitting, and uttering much unintelligible jargon, compose the process of the cure.

For complaints in the bowels, it is common to see those jugglers blowing up the anus till their eyes are almost ready to start from their sockets; and this operation is performed without regard to age or sex. The accumulation of so large a quantity of wind is apt, at times, to occasion some extraordinary emotions in the patient; and it is a laughable scene, in such cases, to see the doctor and the sick person; the one blowing up wind, and the other easing nature, perhaps at one and the same moment.

When a friend, for whom they have a particular regard, is supposed to be dangerously ill, they occasionally have recourse to another very extraordinary piece of superstition, namely, swallowing hatchets, knives, or the like.

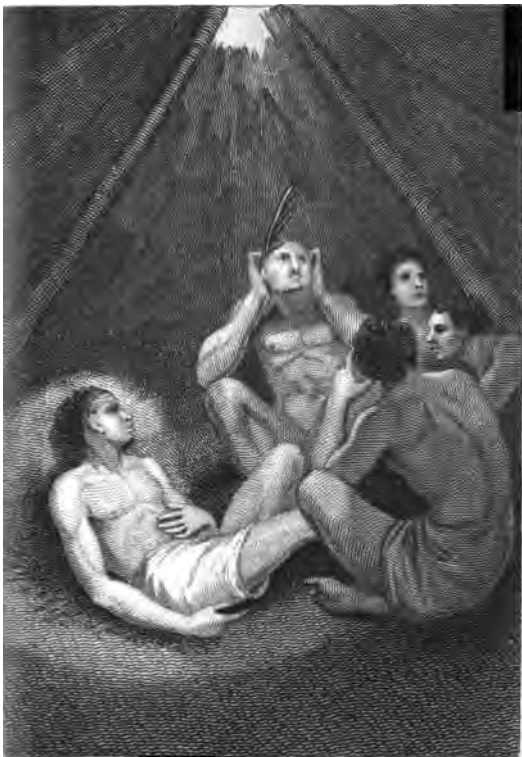
On these occasions, a conjuring house is erected, by driving the ends of four small poles into the ground, the tops of which are tied together, and then covered with a tent cloth, with a little aperture at top to admit the light. In the middle of this tent, the patient is laid; and sometimes five or six conjurers, quite naked, enter; and securing the door, kneel round the sick, and begin to suck and blow the part affected. After a short process of this kind, they sing and talk as if conversing with familiar spirits, which they pretend actually appear to them in the form of beasts, or birds of prey.

Having finished this ideal conference, they call for the hatchet, bayonet, or the like, which is always prepared by another person, and has a string fastened to one end, to assist in drawing it up again, after they have swallowed it; for they do not pretend to be able to digest, or pass it.

Our author now saw an experiment of this kind. A man being dangerously ill, and some extraordinary experiments being judged necessary, one of the conjurers consented to swallow a broad bayonet. The house was erected as before mentioned, the invocations took place; and the bayonet being called for, it disappeared in the twinkling of an eye. Mr. Hearne says, he is not credulous enough to suppose that the juggler actually swallowed it; but he confesses, he could see nothing but the small piece of wood at the end of the string, or one similar to it, between his teeth.

The juggler then paraded backward and forward for a short time, when he feigned to be greatly disordered in his stomach and bowels; and after many wry faces and hideous groans, by the help of the string and some tugging, he at length produced the bayonet, apparently from his mouth, to the no small surprise of the spectators. He then looked round with an air of exultation, and retiring into the conjuring house, renewed his incantations, which he continued without intermission for the space of twenty-four hours.

Our author admits he was not able to detect the deception, more particularly as it was performed by a naked man; and the natives themselves seemed to exult at this triumph, as they supposed it, over his former incredulity. The sick man soon recovered; and, in a few days



*Northern Indian Conjurors with  
a Sick Man.* p. 222.

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they proceeded to the south-west; while the greatest part of the stranger Indians left them.

On the 19th, they reached the side of Large White Stone Lake, which is about forty miles long. This is supposed by some to be the source of the Copper-Mine River; a circumstance which Mr. Hearne can neither verify nor contradict.

They found deer plentiful the whole way; and many were killed for the sake of their skins only. The great destruction which is annually made among these animals is almost incredible; yet there appears no diminution of their numbers; but, in some places, they are even said to be more plentiful than formerly.

It requires the prime part of eight or ten deer skins, to make a complete suit of clothes for a grown person, during winter; and all must be procured in the month of August, or early in September, else the hair will drop off with the slightest injury.

Besides the skins with the hair on, each person wants several others to be dressed in leather, for stockings, shoes, and light summer clothing. Several more are also employed in a parchment state, to make thongs, or netting, for various purposes; so that each individual expends, in the course of a year, upwards of twenty deer skins, in clothing and other domestic uses, exclusive of tent clothes and bags.

Indeed, during winter, the spare skins produce a number of warbles, which the natives pick out and eat as common food. Some of them are as large as the joint of a finger; and the children, in particular, are very fond of them. Mr. Hearne says, that, except these warbles and body lice, he has tasted of every dish in use among the natives;



but though he did not pretend to be over delicate, he never could bring himself to eat them.

The month of October is the rutting season, after which the bucks separate from the does: the former proceed to the woods, and the latter keep in the barren ground the whole year.

The deer, in those regions, are indeed generally in motion from east to west, or from west to east, according to the season, and the prevailing winds. This is the principal reason why the northern Indians are always shifting their stations; for as deer are their chief food, and their skins are indispensable, it is impossible for them to exist long at a distance from their game.

After leaving Stone White Lake, they proceeded to the south-west, at the rate of about twelve miles a day; and, on the 3d of September, arrived at a small river connected with Point Lake. Here the weather was so boisterous, that it was some days before they could venture to cross it in their canoes; but the time of the Indians was not lost by this interruption, as they killed numbers of deer, as well for their skins as their flesh.

In the afternoon of the 7th, they passed the river, and shaped their course by the side of Point Lake to the north-west. After three days easy journeys, they came to a scrubby wood, which was the first of any magnitude they had seen for upwards of three months.

One of the Indian women, who had been some time in a lingering state, was now become so weak as to be incapable of travelling, which, among those people, is the most deplorable situation to which a human being can be reduced. No expedients were tried for her recovery, whether for want of friends, or from the supposed in-

ability of it, is unknown; and she was inhumanly left, unassisted, to her fate.

This, it appears, is a common practice, shocking as it is; and they justify it by saying, that it is better to leave one who is past recovery, than for the whole family to sit down and starve in the same place. On such occasions, however, the friends, or the relations of the sick, generally leave some viâuals and water, and often a little firing, with plenty of deer skins. They then walk away crying, without mentioning the road they mean to pursue.

Instances have occurred of such deserted persons recovering, and regaining their friends. The poor woman, just mentioned, thrice came up to the party; but at last her strength totally failed her—she dropped behind, and was noticed no more.

A custom so unnatural is not often found among the human race; but the northern Indians are certainly not the only savages in this respect; and they have a better excuse, from the necessity they are under to be active during the favourable season, than any other people who are guilty of this violation of all social feeling.

The early part of September gave indications that winter was approaching; and being now got among the woods, the Indians purposed halting for some time, to dress their skins for winter clothing, and to furnish themselves with tent poles, snow shoes, and temporary sledges.

Towards the middle of the month, the weather became more mild and open, and continued so for several days; but they had almost incessant rain. On the 28th, the wind shifted to the north-west, and blew so cold, that in two days all the

lakes and standing waters were frozen over, hard enough to bear them without danger.

October commenced with heavy falls of snow and much drift. On the 6th, the wind blew with so much violence as to overset several of the tents, and, among the rest, that in which Mr. Hearne lodged. By this misfortune, his quadrant, though well secured, was so much damaged as to be entirely useless; and he, therefore, divided its fragments among the Indians.

On the 23d, several Copper and Dog-ribbed Indians arrived at the tents, as it appeared, by previous appointment, and sold their furs for such articles of iron as the northern Indians had in their possession. One of the Indians, in Mr. Hearne's party, got forty beavers' skins, and sixty martins', for a single piece of iron, which he had found means to purloin the last time he visited the fort.

One of the strangers brought forty beaver skins, with which he intended to pay Matonabbee an old debt; but one of the other Indians seized the whole, notwithstanding he knew for whom they were designed; and this irritated the chief so much, that he renewed his resolution of retiring to the Athapasco Indians. Our author did not now much interfere in his determination, though he told him that he thought such behaviour uncivil, especially in a man of his rank and dignity; but he discovered afterwards, that they all intended to take a hunting expedition into that country, for the sake of the moose and the beaver, which are either very scarce, or never seen in the northern Indian territories.

Indeed, except a few martins, wolves, quick-hatches, foxes, and otters, are the chief furs to be

met with in those parts; and, out of some superstitious notion, few of the northern Indians chuse to kill either the wolf or the quickhatch, which they suppose to be more than common animals.

By the end of October, all their clothes and winter implements were ready, and they once more began to move. From the 1st to the 5th of November they walked over the ice of a large lake, which, as it had no appellation before, our author called No Name Lake. This sheet of water, or rather of ice, as it then was, is about fifty miles long and thirty-five broad. It is said to abound with fine fish; and in the state it then was, the Indians caught some fine trout and perch.

Having passed this lake, they shaped their course to the south-west, and on the 10th reached the commencement of the main woods, when they prepared their proper sledges, and proceeded again to the south-west. No game was killed for some time, except a few partridges; however, they had by no means exhausted their stock of provisions.

After passing Methy Lake, and walking near eighty miles on a small river that issues from it, on the 20th they reached Indian Lake. This piece of water, though not more than twenty miles over, is celebrated for producing plenty of fine fish even in winter; and accordingly the Indians set their nets with such success, that in about ten days they laded the women's sledges with roes only. Tittimeg, barbel, and pike were the only fish they caught here. Two pounds weight of roes, well bruised, will make four gallons of excellent soup, very pleasant to the eye, as well as the palate.

The land round this lake is very hilly, and consists chiefly of loose stones and rocks. However, there are some parts well clothed with poplars, pines, fir, and birch. Rabbits were so plentiful here, that several of the Indians caught twenty or thirty in a night with snares; and wood partridges were no less numerous in the trees. The flesh of the latter is generally black and bitter, from their feeding on the brush of the fir tree.

During their stay at Indian Lake, a man being entirely palsied on one side, the doctors, or rather conjurers, set about curing him; and the person who had swallowed a bayonet in the summer, now offered to swallow a piece of board, as large as a barrel stave, for his recovery.

After the usual preparatory ceremonies, the board was delivered to the conjurer, who apparently shoved one-third of it down his throat, and then walked round the company, continuing to swallow it, till no part was visible, except a small piece of the end.

As our author had doubted the former trial of his skill, the Indians, to cure his unbelief, gave him the most favourable station for seeing the exploit performed; but still, though he could not be convinced of what was in itself impossible, he was unable to detect the imposition.

Soon after, being questioned as to his opinion of the performance, as he was unwilling to offend by owning his sentiments that it was a juggle, he only hinted at the impossibility of swallowing a piece of wood longer than the man's whole back, and twice as wide as his mouth. On this some of them laughed at him for his ignorance; and said, that the spirits in waiting swallowed, or otherwise conveyed away, the stick, and only left the

the forked end apparently sticking out of the conjurer's mouth. Matonabee, though a man of sense and observation, was so bigotted to the reality of those feats, that he assured Mr. Hearne he had seen a man swallow a child's cradle with as much ease as he could fold up a piece of paper and put it in his mouth.

Though they pretend that the whole is done by the intervention of spirits, and that each conjurer has his familiar to assist him, who appears in various forms, there can be no doubt of the deception; but still it is admirably performed.

As soon as the conjurer had finished the swallowing remedy, five other men and an old woman, all proficient in the art, stripped quite naked, and entered with him into the conjuring house, where they began to suck, blow, sing, and dance round the poor paralytic; and continued this farce for three days and as many nights, without intermission, or taking the least refreshment.

At last, when they came out, their mouths were quite parched and black, and they were not able to articulate a single syllable. They laid themselves on their backs with their eyes fixed, as if in the agonies of death; and for the first day were treated like young children, by being fed by hand.

The paralytic, however, had not only recovered his appetite, but was able to move all the fingers and toes of the side that had been so long dead. In three weeks he could walk; and at the end of six went a hunting for his family. After that he accompanied Mr. Hearne to the fort, and frequently visited the factory during the following years. But his nature seemed quite changed; for, from being lively, benevolent, and

good natured, he became pensive, quarrelsome, and discontented; and never recovered the look of health.

Though the reality of the deception performed by the Indian conjurers must be unquestionable, the apparent good effects of their charms on the sick and diseased, can only be accounted for on the principle of faith in the patient, which sets the mind at ease, and inspires hope, so essential to the well-being of man.

As a proof of the implicit confidence which is placed in the supernatural powers of these jugglers, even the threat of revenge on any person that has offended them is often fatal. The very idea that the conjurer possesses the means of destruction, preys on the spirits of the unhappy victims of his ill will, and soon brings on a disorder that terminates his existence. A whole family has some times sunk into the grave, merely from the fancied dread of a conjurer's resentment.

Mr. Hearne says, the natives always thought him possessed of this art; and, accordingly, he was once solicited to kill a man, who had offended a chief, and who was then several hundred miles off. To please his friend, he drew some rude figures on a bit of paper, and gave it to the Indian, who wished for the destruction of his enemy. But what was our author's surprise to hear the next year, that the man, who was then in perfect health, being acquainted with his design against him, almost immediately sickened, and died. He was frequently afterwards importuned to execute revenge on others; but having once established his character by this fatal instance of Indian credulity, he never complied, in future, with such requests. However, this gained

ed him credit with the natives, and served to keep them in awe, when he was afterwards chief of the fort.

They left Indian Lake on the 1st of December, and directing their course to the southward, they arrived on the north side of the great Athapusco Lake, on the 24th. In their way they saw many deer and beaver, plenty of which the Indians killed. The days now were so short, that the sun only took a circuit of a few points of the compass above the horizon; but the brilliancy of the aurora borealis and the stars, even without the assistance of the moon, made some amends for that deficiency, and were sufficient to enable them to hunt the beaver, though not the deer or moose.

In the high northern latitudes, every variation of the colour or position of the aurora borealis is attended with a rustling and crackling noise, like the waving of a large flag in a fresh gale of wind. As this phenomenon is solved on the principle of electricity, it is sufficient to notice it, to make it intelligible to the scientific.

Indian deer, as they are called, the only species found in those parts, except the moose, are vastly larger than those which frequent the barren grounds in the territories of the northern Indians. Their hair is of a sandy red colour during winter; their horns, though stronger, are less branching than the other kind; and their flesh is more coarse, but still excellent food.

The beaver, however, was here the grand object of the Indians attention, both on account of its flesh and fur. Much as Europeans have heard about this animal, which, according to some, is almost a rational being, Mr. Hearne has set the public



right in various particulars respecting it; and detected the ignorance, or intentional falsity, of other writers on this subject, in numerous instances.

He says, the situation of the beaver houses is various. Where these animals are very plentiful, they are found to inhabit lakes, ponds, and rivers, as well as the narrow creeks which connect the lakes. In general, however, they prefer the rivers and creeks, on account of the advantage of the current, to float the materials for their habitations.

Such as build their houses in small rivers and creeks, which are liable to become dry, shew an admirable instinct in providing against this calamity, by throwing a dam quite across the stream; and in nothing do they shew more ability and foresight than in this, whatever sagacity some are ready to allow them.

These dams are constructed of drift wood, green willows, birch, and poplar, mud and stones, or whatever materials can most readily be procured. Their houses are also made of similar articles, and always proportioned in size to the number of inhabitants, which seldom exceed four old, and six or eight young ones. It is a mistake, however, to say, that they have different apartments for their necessary conveniences; all that the beaver seems to aim at, is to have a dry place to lie on.

It, indeed, frequently happens, that some of the large houses have one or more partitions; but between the inhabitants of these, no more than a social intercourse is kept up; nor have they any common communication but by water.

The accounts we read, in some books, respecting the manner in which the beavers build their houses and dams, Mr. Hearne assures us, are mere

sations. They can neither drive piles, wattle their buildings, saw trees, nor use their tails as a trowel. Yet their sagacity is not small; and they perform all that can be expected from animals of their size and strength.

Their work is entirely executed in the night, and they are so expeditious in completing it, that our author says, he has frequently been astonished to see the quantity of mud they had collected in one night, or the progress they had made in a dam or house.

The chief food is a root resembling a cabbage stalk, which grows at the bottom of lakes and rivers, and which is accessible to them at all seasons. They are also fond of the bark of trees during the summer, and such kinds of herbage and berries as the vicinity supplies.

When the ice breaks up in the spring, the beavers quit their habitations, and rove about during the summer, probably in quest of a more favourable situation; but if they cannot suit themselves better, they return to their old habitations soon enough to lay in their winter stock of woods.

Notwithstanding what has been repeatedly reported, in regard to their forming towns and commonwealths, Mr. Hearne says he is confident, that even where the greatest number of beavers are assembled together, their labours are not carried on jointly, nor have they any mutuality of interests, except in supporting the dam, which is common to several houses. In such cases they have, no doubt, sagacity enough to see that what is of utility to all, should be repaired by the labours of each.

The beaver is capable of keeping a long time under water; so that when their houses are broken up, and their retreats cut off, they generally retire to the vaults in the banks, as their last resource; and here the greatest number of them are taken.

In winter they are very fat and delicious eating, and their furs very valuable; but in summer, during the breeding time, and when they are roving about, neither their flesh nor their skins are of much consequence. They produce from two to five young at a time; and though several varieties of them are mentioned, it is most probable, that the difference of season alone occasions the apparent distinction\*.

The beaver is a remarkably cleanly animal; and is capable of being, in a great measure, domesticated. Mr. Hearne kept several of them, that answered to their names, and followed him and fondled on him like dogs. He had a house built for them, and a small piece of water before the door, into which they always plunged, when they wanted to ease nature. In winter they lived on the common food of the natives, and were remarkably fond of rice and plum pudding. They would even eat partridges and venison freely; and were the constant attendants on the Indian women and children, for whom they shewed a great partiality, and were always uneasy in their absence.

After appropriating several days to hunting beaver, they proceeded across the Athapusco Lake, in the beginning of January 1772, and arrived on the south side of it on the 9th. From the best

\* Linnæus describes three species of beavers, which appear to be distinct.

information, this lake appears to be about one hundred and twenty leagues long, from east to west, and twenty wide, from north to south. It is full of islands, most of which are well clothed with trees, and stocked with Indian deer.

This lake produces vast quantities of fish, such as pike, trout, perch, barbel, tittameg, and methy: the two last species of fish are peculiar to this country, and the shees, a fish resembling a pike, to this lake only.

The trout here weigh commonly from thirty-five to forty pounds. Pike are also of an incredible size.

On reaching the south side of this lake, they found the scene very agreeably altered. Instead of an entire jumble of rocks and hills, they entered on a fine champaign country, where scarcely a stone was to be seen.

Buffalo, moose, and beaver were very abundant; and in many places they could discover the tracks of martins, foxes, quickhatches, and other animals of the fur kind. The three former animals, however, were the sole objects of the Indians pursuit, perhaps principally on account of the excellency of their flesh.

The buffaloes appear much larger than the English black cattle, particularly the bulls. Their skin is of an incredible thickness, particularly about the neck; the horns are black, short, and almost straight, but very thick at the base. The tail is only about a foot long; and the hair of the body is soft and curled, generally of a sandy brown colour.

The flesh of this animal is entirely free from any disagreeable smell or flavour, and is equal to

the finest beef. The hunch is reckoned a very delicate bit. The tongue also is much esteemed.

The moose deer often exceeds the largest horse, both in height and bulk; but the length of the legs, the shortness of the neck, and the disproportionate size of the head and ears, give them a very awkward appearance; and prevent them from grazing on level ground like other animals. In summer, they browse on the tops of large vegetables, and the leaves of trees; and in winter, they subsist entirely on the small branches of the willow and birch trees.

They are the most inoffensive of all animals, and never attempt resistance. It is nothing unusual for an Indian to paddle his canoe up to one of them, and take it by the poll without opposition. They are easily tamed; and Mr. Hearne says, he has seen some of them that would follow their keeper, and in every thing obey his voice.

The flesh of the moose is good, though rather coarser and tougher than other venison. The nose and tongue are peculiar delicacies. All the external fat is soft, and when put into a bladder, is as fine as marrow.

In all its actions and attitudes, the moose appears very uncouth; its gait is shambling, and it is both tender footed and short winded. The skin makes excellent tent-covers and shoe-leather, and is dressed for various other purposes.

On the 11th of January, as some of the Indians were engaged in hunting, they discovered the track of a strange snow shoe, and tracing it, they came to a little hut, where they found a young woman alone. She proved to be one of the western Dog-ribbed Indians, who had been taken prisoner by those of Athapusco, in the summer of

1770, and had eloped from them the following season, when they were in the vicinity, with an intention of returning to her own country; but the distance being so great, she had forgot the track, and had, therefore, built a hut for her protection, in which she had lived about seven moons, without seeing a human face.

During this time she had supported herself by snaring partridges, rabbits, and squirrels. That she had not been in want was evident from her appearance, and the stock of provisions she had still by her. Of a real Indian, she was one of the finest women, in our author's opinion, of any he ever saw.

She had shewn infinite ingenuity in procuring a livelihood. When the few deer sinews, she had carried off with her, were all expended in making snares, and sewing her clothes; she had used those of the legs of rabbits with much dexterity and success. Of the skins of those animals, she had likewise made herself a complete and neat suit of winter clothes; and it was evident, she had extended her care beyond mere comfort, as her dress exhibited no little variety of ornament.

Her leisure hours had been employed in twisting the inner rind of willows into small lines, of which she intended to make a fishing net. Five or six inches of an iron hoop served her for a knife, and this, together with an awl of the same metal, were all the implements in her possession. She lighted a fire by rubbing two hard sulphureous stones against each other, and when a few sparks were produced, she had touchwood ready to receive them.

The comeliness of her person, and her approved accomplishments, occasioned a strong contest

among the party who should have her to wife; and she was actually won and lost by almost ten men the same evening. Matonabbee, though he had no less than seven, women grown, and a young girl about twelve years old, wished to put in his claim for her: but one of his wives shamed him from this, by observing, that he had women enough already. This piece of satire, however true it might be, irritated the chief so much, that he fell upon the poor creature, and bruised her so excessively, that after lingering some time, she escaped from his tyranny and life.

It appeared that when the Athapusco Indians surprised the friends of the young woman, they had butchered them all, except herself and three other women. Among the victims of their barbarity were her father, mother, and husband. She had a child about four months old, which she concealed in a bundle of clothing, and carried with her; but, when they joined the Athapusco women, one of them snatched it from her, and killed it on the spot\*. Her new husband, she said, was remarkably fond of her, and kind to her; but this piece of barbarity she could never forget; and took the first opportunity of eloping from the murderers of her infant. Affecting as this story was, and told at the same time with correspondent feeling, Mr. Hearne says, his party only laughed at it, and turned it into ridicule.

Continuing their course to the south-west, on the 16th they arrived at the Grand Athapusco River, at a place where it was about two miles wide.

\* Disgraceful as it is to the female character, our author informs us, that it is usual for the women of the southern Indians, when their husbands are going to war, to beg that they will bring a slave for them to kill.

The surrounding woods were very luxuriant; and the banks of the river were nearly one hundred feet above the ordinary level of the water. The soil was rich and loamy, and some of the pines, that grew here, were large enough to make masts for ships of the first rate. In the river are several islands, much frequented by the moose deer.

Agreeably to Matonabee's proposal, they continued their march up this river for many days, in hopes of falling in with some of the natives; but though they saw several of their former encampments, they did not discover one of the people. Thus disappointed in their expectations, it was resolved to spend as much time in hunting the moose, buffalo, and beaver, as could be allowed, consistent with their purposed return to the fort, by the usual period of the ships' arrival from England.

Accordingly, on the 27th of January, they directed their course to the eastward; but as game was very plentiful, they made frequent halts.

About the middle of February, they walked along a small river, which empties itself into Lake Clowey, where they had built their canoes the year before. On the 24th, they were joined by a northern Indian leader and his followers, who presented Matonabee and our author with some roll tobacco, and about two quarts of brandy. The tobacco was very acceptable, as their stock of that article had been long expended.

As this vicinity abounded in game, many days were spent in hunting, feasting, and preparing such a quantity of flesh, as might serve them for some time; well knowing, from experience, that a few days walk farther to the eastward, would deprive them of the living animals.



The strangers, who had left the fort, about November 1771, soon proceeded on their journey to the north-westward; except a few who had been lucky in hunting, and resolved to accompany them back to the factory, to dispose of their furs.

On the last day of February, they resumed their journey; and soon after the Indians fell in with a party of poor inoffensive people, whom they plundered of all they had, and even carried off some of their young women. These repeated acts of violent and unprovoked aggression, served to increase our author's indignation; and he felt very sensibly for this in particular, as it was committed on a set of harmless creatures, who were almost secluded from all other human society.

It appeared that for upwards of a generation, one family only, as it may be called, had taken up their winter abode in those woods, which are so much out of the usual track of the other Indians, as to be very seldom visited by them. The situation, however, was most favourable for game of every kind, at the different seasons; but the general dependence was on fish and partridges. These advantages had tempted this simple race to take up their abode here; several hundred miles from the rest of their tribe.

By the 1st of March, they began to leave the level country of the Athapiscos, and to approach the stony mountains, which bound the northern Indian country. On the 14th, they discovered the tracks of more strangers, and next day came up with them. Among them was a person who had carried a letter from Mr. Hearne to Prince of Wales Fort, about a year before; and now accidentally

cidentally met him, and returned an answer, dated in June 1771.

These Indians having obtained a few furs, joined their party, which now consisted of about two hundred persons. Our author found great reason to lament the loss of his quadrants, as he was unable to ascertain distances and situations, however desirable it would have been both for curiosity and information, in a country which no other European ever traversed.

On the 19th, they took up their lodgings near Large Pike Lake, which they crossed next day, where it was not more than seven miles wide. The subsequent day they passed Bedodid Lake, which is about forty miles long and only three broad; so that it has the appearance of a river. The Indians said it was shut up on all sides by high lands, covered with pines of vast magnitude, compared to which, the European firs are only like fruit trees.

The thaws now commenced, and from the latter end of March to the middle of April, they were considerable about noon; but it commonly froze at night, and walking was by no means pleasant. The moose deer now began to become very scarce. On the 12th of April, they saw several swans flying to the northward, which being birds of passage, were considered as the harbingers of spring.

On the 14th, they pitched their tents on Thee-loo-aza River, where they found some families of strange northern Indians, employed in snaring deer; and so poor, that they had not a gun among them. The villains, however, in our author's party, so far from administering to their relief, robbed them of every useful article, and abused

abused some of their young women in a manner too shocking to mention, in spite of all the remonstrances he could make.

Deer being plentiful near this spot, they halted here ten days, in order to prepare and dry a quantity of the flesh to carry with them.

The thaw now was so considerable, that some bare land appeared; and the ice on the streams began to break up.

On the 25th, as the weather was very inviting, they again set out; but on the 1st of May, a heavy fall of snow came on, attended with a bitter gale of wind, which increased to such a degree, that they were incapable of standing upright, and the cold was extremely piercing.

The 2d proved fine with warm sun-shine; and having dried their wet clothes, they proceeded to the place where it was intended to build their canoes; but in consequence of a dispute between Matonabee and some of his countrymen, he determined to travel farther to the eastward before they set about this necessary duty.

For some days the weather was hot and pleasant. On the 6th, they fell in with some strange Indians, who were proceeding to the factory with their furs; and on the invitation of Matonabee, they joined company.

After a rest of four days, it was agreed on to leave the elderly people and young children here, in the care of some Indians, till the return of their relations from the fort. Matters being thus settled, they set out on the 11th, at a much brisker pace than before; and in the afternoon of the same day, overtook some more Indians laden with furs.

The 12th was so warm, and the water so deep on the top of the ice, as to render walking on it not only unpleasant but dangerous. It was, therefore, found necessary to construct their canoes without delay; and this business being accomplished by the 18th, they proceeded through swamps of mud, water, and wet snow, which froze to their stockings and shoes in such large crusts, as to render travelling very laborious, and to expose them to the danger of having their limbs frost-bitten.

The weather, on the 21st, was so sharp, that the swamps and ponds were once more frozen over; and they found it tolerable walking. This day several Indians turned back for want of provisions; which now began to run scarce, and no new supplies were to be found, except a few geese.

The following day they had the good fortune to kill two deer; but the party was now so large, that four of the northern deer were not more than adequate to a single meal.

On the 25th, several more of the Indians abandoned the journey, for fear of famine; and as they had travelled hard for some days, all heavy laden, and in great distress for want of food, some of them became too weak to carry their furs any farther, and many others, being destitute of guns and ammunition, were no longer capable of bearing them company.

Mr. Hearne, indeed, had plenty of both, but self-preservation obliged him to reserve it for the use of his immediate attendants; especially as geese and other birds were the only game they had to expect till they reached the fort.

The 26th was fine and pleasant; and after walking about five miles, they fell in with and killed three deer, which, as their numbers were considerably lessened, served them for two or three meals, with little expence of ammunition.

They crossed Cathawhachaga river on the 30th of May, on the ice, which broke up soon after the last of the party left it. Symptoms of bad weather now appeared; and it was not long before the rain descended in torrents, and obliged them, in the middle of the night, to retire for security to the top of an adjacent hill, where the violence of the wind would not permit them to erect their tents. In this dreary situation, they remained till the 3d of June, without the least refreshment; in the course of which time the wind shifted all round the compass, and they changed their position with it.

On the 4th, the storm abated; and hunger compelled them to advance, wet and exhausted as they were. In the course of that day's journey they killed some geese, but barely sufficient to keep them from starving.

On the 8th, however, they were fortunate enough to kill five deer, which put them all in high spirits; and from the numbers they saw, they began to indulge the hopes that more plentiful times awaited them, during the remainder of their journey.

On the 9th, as they were continuing their course in the direction of the factory, they saw several smokes, and spoke with different parties of northern Indians; but anxious to get on, they did not lose much time in conversation.

For many days after, they found plenty of provisions; and as the weather was remarkably fine

and pleasant, their circumstances were vastly altered for the better; and they almost forgot their former sufferings. The thoughts too of approaching the fort gave them new resolution, and moderate difficulties were overlooked.

On the 18th, they arrived at Egg River, from whence Mr. Hearne dispatched a letter to the chief at Fort Prince Wales, to inform him of his being so far advanced. Here they halted a day to prepare food to carry with them.

Early on the morning of the 26th they arrived at Seal River; but the wind blew so strong, that they could not venture to cross it in their little canoes, before the afternoon.

On the 28th, as they were crossing Po-co-thee-kis-co River, they were joined by some Indians from Fort Churchill, who brought them a little tobacco; and next morning they had the satisfaction to arrive safe at Fort Prince Wales, after an absence of eighteen months and twenty days.

"Though my discoveries," says Mr. Hearne, "are not likely to prove of any material advantage to the nation at large, or, indeed, to the Hudson's Bay Company, yet I had the pleasure to think, that I had fully executed the instructions I received; and that this journey has put an end to all disputes respecting a North-west Passage through Hudson's Bay. It will also wipe off the ill-grounded and unjust aspersions of some voyagers and travellers, thrown on the Hudson's Bay Company, as being averse to discoveries in this quarter." We shall now conclude this very interesting journey with some additional remarks on the northern Indians.

In their persons they are generally above the middle size, well proportioned, strong, and robust;

but are less volatile and active than some of the other Indian tribes. Their complexion is of a dark copper cast; their hair black, long, and straight; and few of the men have naturally any beard, and what they have they carefully extirpate.

Their peculiar features, are very low foreheads, small eyes, high cheek bones, Roman noses, full cheeks, and in general long broad chins. Their skin is soft and polished, and when they are clean dressed, they are quite free from any offensive smell. They mark their cheeks with three or four parallel black strokes, which is performed by running a needle under the skin, and rubbing powdered charcoal into the wound.

Morose and covetous, the name of gratitude is scarcely known among them. They seem to take a pleasure in enumerating their wants, even where they have no prospect of having them relieved; and frequently laugh at the dupes of their insincerity.

Harsh uncourteous usage seems to agree better with them than kindness; for if the least respect be shewn them, they become intolerably insolent. Yet, as in all countries and among all people, there are some who are capable of estimating indulgence without trespassing too far.

To defraud the Europeans, and to overreach them in trade, are their pleasure and their study. They disguise their persons, change their names; in short, any thing to escape paying their lawful debts, or to enable them to contract new ones.

Notwithstanding those bad qualities, they are one of the mildest of the Indian tribes, the most sober, and the most pacific.

Though jealousy is a general passion among the men, marriages are contracted without ceremony, and frequently dissolved with as little. Young women have no choice of their own. Their parents match them to the man who seems best able to maintain them, regardless of age, person, or disposition.

Girls are generally betrothed, when children, to men grown up. Nor is this practice destitute of policy; where the very existence of a family depends sometimes on the industry and abilities of one man. In case of a father's death, the poor female children would frequently be in danger of starving, did not those early contracts take place, which are never violated on the part of the man, till after consummation at least.

From the age of eight or nine, girls are strictly watched and closely confined; deprived even of innocent and cheerful amusements, and cooped up by the side of old women, employed in domestic duties of every kind. But the conduct of the parents is by no means consistent with these rigid restraints. They set no bounds to the freedom of their conversation before their children.

Divorces are pretty common for incontinency, bad behaviour, or even the want of such accomplishments as the husband wishes to find in a wife. This ceremony consists in nothing but a good drubbing, and turning the woman out of doors.

Providence has mercifully denied the women the same fecundity as in more genial climes. Few produce more than five or six children; and these generally at long intervals, which enables the parents to bring them up with greater facility, than if they had several very young children to take care of at once.



At periodical times, the men and women have separate tents; and this custom is so universal and so strictly observed, that if a woman chuses to be sulky, she will make use of this privilege, as she pretends, and absent herself from her husband, perhaps twice or thrice within a month, without his daring to examine into the circumstances of the deception. A woman in this state is never permitted to walk on the ice of rivers and lakes, or to approach where the men are hunting or fishing, for fear of preventing their success.

For want of firing, rather than choice, these poor people are frequently obliged to eat their meat raw, particularly in the summer season, when on the barren ground; nor do they ever feel any inconvenience from this. Mr. Hearne says, he has been frequently one of a party, who has sat down to a fresh-killed deer, and assisted in picking the bones quite clean.

Their poverty is so great, that not many of them are able to purchase a brass kettle; so that they are under the necessity of continuing their original mode of boiling their victuals in large upright vessels, made of birch rind. As these will not admit of being exposed to the fire, the defect is supplied by red hot stones, put into the water; which speedily occasion it to boil. They have various dishes, at which the delicate stomach of an European would revolt. The paunch of a deer, with all its contents, the parts of generation of all animals, both male and female, the womb of the buffalo, elk, and deer, are favourite viands among the northern Indians.

Bows and arrows, their original weapons, are now superseded by the use of firearms, except among

among the very poorest, or when they wish to save ammunition. Deer are frequently killed during the summer season with arrows; but from disuse, the Indians are not very dexterous in the management of those weapons.

Their sledges are of various sizes, according to the strength of the people who are to haul them. Some are not less than twelve or fourteen feet long, and fifteen or sixteen inches wide; but, in general, their dimensions are much less. They are composed of boards, a quarter of an inch thick, and about five or six inches wide, sewed together with thongs of parchment deer skin. The head, or forepart, is turned up, so as to form a semicircle of about a foot and a half diameter. This prevents the sledge from diving into light snow, and enables it to slide over the inequalities of the surface.

The trace, or draught line, is a double string made fast to the head; and the bight is put across the shoulders of the hauler, so as to rest against the breast, which allows the greatest exertion of strength with the least toil.

Their snow shoes are somewhat different from the generality used in those regions, as they must always be worn on one foot, the inner side of the frame being almost straight, and the outside having a large sweep. The frames are commonly made of birch wood, and the netting is composed of thongs of deer skin.

Their clothing principally consists of deer skin in the hair, which subjects them to vermin; but this is far from being considered as a disgrace; and, indeed, a lousy garment forms, in their estimation, a delicious repast. Disgusting as this may appear, it is, perhaps, no more indelicate than

than an European epicure feasting on the mites in cheese.

The track of land inhabited by the northern Indians reaches from latitude 59 to 68 deg. and is about five hundred miles in width. The surface is frequently covered with a thin sod of moss; but, in general, it is no more than one solid mass of rocks and stones. It produces some cranberries, and a few other insignificant shrubs and herbage; and in the marshes are found different kinds of grass: but nature has been very sparing in her gifts in the vegetable class.

There is a kind of moss of a black, hard, crumply appearance, growing on the rocks and large stones, which is of infinite service to the natives, as it sometimes furnishes them with a temporary subsistence when no other food is to be procured. When boiled, it turns to a gummy consistence, and is neither unpalatable nor unwholesome. Fish and deer, however, constitute their principal support; and these are, in most places, sufficiently abundant at the proper seasons.

When two parties of those Indians meet, they make a full halt within a few yards of each other, and, in general, sit or lie down for a few minutes. At length one of them, commonly one of the elders, breaks silence, and when he has made his oration, the speaker of the other party begins his reply.

They have few diversions; and in a country where want can only be warded off by constant diligence, it is not to be expected that they should shine in elegant amusements. Dancing, however, is not unknown among them; and this exercise the men always perform naked. The women, unless they are commanded by their husband's

band's, or father's, never share in it, and then always by themselves.

A scorbutic eruption, consumptions, and fluxes, are their chief disorders. The first, though very troublesome, is never of itself fatal; but the two latter carry off great numbers of both sexes and all ages. Indeed, few attain to longevity, probably owing to the rigours of the climate, and the great fatigues they incessantly undergo. They never bury their dead, but leave them to be devoured by the birds and wild beasts.

The death, however, of a near relation affects them most sensibly. They rend their clothes, cut their hair, and cry almost incessantly for a great length of time. The periods of mourning are regulated by moons; and they seem to sympathize with each other on their respective losses, as if possessed of the finest sensibility; yet there is certainly much of habit in this, and the emotions of nature have only a partial share, either in their sorrow or condolence.

Religion, as a rule of life, has not yet begun to dawn among the northern Indians, superstitious as they are. Yet they think and speak respectfully of the devotion of others; and some of them are not unacquainted with the history of the great Author of Christianity. Matonabee, who, our author says, was one of the best informed and sensible men he ever knew among them, gave the following account of his countrymen. "Their only object is to consult their interest, inclinations, and passions; and to pass through this world with as much ease and contentment as possible, without any hopes of reward, or painful fear of punishment in the next." These are the sentiments and the objects of the irreligious in all countries,

countries, however much policy may teach them to disguise their thoughts.

When the aurora borealis is very bright, and varying much in form, colour, and situation, they say their deceased friends are very merry; but the immortality of the soul is by no means a general belief among the northern Indians; though their southern neighbours have certainly some faint ideas of it. Yet they are very superstitious with respect to the existence of several kinds of fairies, whom they call Nant-e-na, and whom they pretend sometimes to see. These are supposed to inhabit the different elements; and to some one or other of them, every change in their circumstances is usually ascribed.

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